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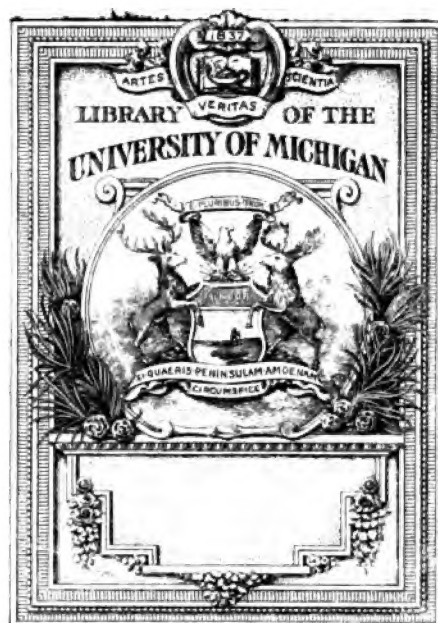
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OHIO

Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XII.



COLUMBUS:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY
FRED. J. HEER.

Entered according to the Act of Congress
in the year 1908

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PREFATORY NOTE TO VOLUME XII.

The twelfth volume of the publications of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, which is herewith issued in book form, includes the Quarterlies of the Society previously published as numbers I, January; II, April; III, July; and IV, October, 1903. The table of contents speaks for itself. The volume is made complete and increased in value by the accompaniment of a complete index to its contents. The custom of indexing each volume as they appear will hereafter be followed. No comment need be made upon the extent and character of the material in this volume. Certain it is that the Society has made rapid progress in the past year and its literature is being recognized more and more throughout the country as of the highest and most interesting nature. This is the centennial year of Ohio, and the proceedings of the celebration held at Chillicothe are published in a separate volume, hence the reason that this regular annual publication does not fully deal with that event.

E. O. RANDALL,
Secretary.

Columbus, Ohio. October, 1903.

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INDEX TO VOLUME XII.

	PAGE:
Centennial Celebration of the Adoption of Ohio's First Constitution.	1
A Century of Statehood. Address by GEORGE K. NASH.....	25
The Wyandot Chief, Leather Lips. By WM M. CURRY.....	30
Ancient Works at Marietta, Ohio. By J. P. MACLEAN.....	37
Clark's Conquest of the Northwest. By E. O. RANDALL.....	67
The Old River Bridge. By JAMES BALL NAYLOR.....	95
Sieur De La Salle, French Explorer. By CHARLES E. SLOCUM.....	107
Kossuth before Ohio Legislature.....	114
Fort Miami and Fort Industry. By CHARLES E. SLOCUM.....	120
Old Fort Industry. By S. S. KNABENSHUE.....	126
—The Treaty of Greenville.....	128
The "Divide." By A. J. BAUGHMAN.....	160
General Joseph Kerr. By WM. E. GILMORE.....	164
—The Towns called Chillicothe.....	167
The Buckeye. By ALICE WILLIAMS BROTHERTON.....	180
Centennial Tribute to Ohio. By JOHN HOPLEY.....	181
The Centennial Ode. By J. M. HARDING.....	182
Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society	187
"Refugees to and from Canada and the Refugee Tract." By ED- WARD LIVINGSTON TAYLOR.....	219
The Kentucky Revival in the Miami Valley. By J. P. MACLEAN....	242
Influence of Pennsylvania on Ohio. By W. H. HUNTER.....	287
Greatness of Ohio. By D. K. WATSON.....	310
Are the Hopewell Copper Objects Prehistoric? By WARREN K. MOREHEAD	317
—Kenton's "Chillicothe." By T. J. BROWN.....	322
Fowke's Book Again —	
Nation's Review	324
Prof. Moorehead's Criticism	326
Thomas Worthington. By FRANK THEODORE COLE.....	339
George Croghan. By CHARLES RICHARD WILLIAMS.....	375
Pontiac's Conspiracy. By E. O. RANDALL.....	410
The Gateways to Fort Ancient. By THOMAS J. BROWN.....	438
Index	446
Editorialana — E. O. RANDALL —	
The Americanists at Fort Ancient.....	97
Hon. Charles P. Griffin.....	99
Ohio and the Western Reserve.....	101

	PAGE:
The Acolhuans	104
The Greatest Man — An Ohioan.....	105
Ohio Day in the Public Schools.....	185
Dayton Daughters of the American Revolution.....	329
Homes of Ohio Governors.....	330
Farrar's Groundhog Speech.....	331
The Heroes of Fort Meigs.....	333
Ohio's Sons of the American Revolution.....	337
George Bohan Wright	441
List of Members of Society Elected Since July 1, 1901.....	444

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR VOLUME XII.

	PAGE
Robert W. Manly	2
Hon. W. D. Yaple.....	3
William T. McClintick.....	6
Hon. D. J. Ryan.....	11
Tablet	24
Hon. George K. Nash.....	25
The Ohio Flag.....	29
Monument to Leather Lips	30
Mound in Mound Cemetery, Marietta.....	38
First Plan of Earthworks.....	40
Ancient Works (after B. T. Putnam).....	45
Great Conical Mound.....	49
Great Truncated Pyramid.....	51
Lower Part of Via Sacra as it Descends to the Muskingum.....	56
Ancient Works (after S. DeWitt).....	59
Ancient Works (after Col. Chas. Whittlesey).....	60
Supplementary Plan (after Col. Chas. Whittlesey).....	63
Great Conical Mound	65
George Rogers Clark.....	67
Fort Sackville, Vincennes, Ind.....	88
Bowman's March to Cahokia, Clark's March to Kaskaskia and Vincennes	90
The Old River Bridge	95, 96
Charles P. Griffin.....	99
Sketch of Franquelin's Map of 1682.....	109
Basin of the Great Lakes.....	110
Jonet's Smaller Map	111
Franquelin's 1684 Map	112
Signatures to Treaty of Greenville.....	145
Springfield Township, Richland County, Ohio.....	161
Invitation to Ohio Centennial	194, 195
Principal Land Grants and Surveys.....	220
Columbia Baptist Church	243
Cincinnati in 1802	257
Elder Barton W. Stone	278
Thomas Worthington	344
Eleanor Worthington	352
Adena, Residence of Thomas Worthington.....	358
Major George Croghan	376, 394

	PAGE
Spiegel Grove, Residence of the Late R. B. Hayes.....	378
Scene at the Battle of Fort Stephenson.....	390
"Old Betsey"	394
Assault on Fort Stephenson.....	394
Tecumseh, "The Prophet".....	394
General Harrison	394
Sargt. Gaines	394
Medal Presented to Colonel George Croghan.....	396
Monument of Major Croghan in Public Square, Fremont, Ohio....	398
Pontiac	410
Meeting of Major Rogers and Pontiac (after an Old Drawing)....	416
Pontiac'	419
Map	423
Henry Gladwyn	424
Colonel Henry Boquet	432
George Bohan Wright	441

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No. 1.



COLUMBUS, OHIO:
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1903

OHIO

Archaeological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE ADOPTION OF OHIO'S FIRST CONSTITUTION.

The Centennial of the adoption of the Constitution of Ohio, was celebrated at Chillicothe Saturday, November 29, 1902 by the unveiling of a tablet, marking the site of the first state house of Ohio, which is the site of the present court house.

The weather was very inclement, snow and rain interfering with the ceremonies to the extent, at least, that the audience was small and the attendance from outside the city was not as large as the importance of the event deserved.

PRESENTATION OF TABLET.

At 11 o'clock the people gathered on the esplanade of the court house, and after patriotic airs by the Young Men's orchestra, Robert W. Manly, a great grandson of the first Governor of Ohio, presented the tablet in the following fitting address.

Honorable Mayor of Chillicothe and Fellow Citizens:

We are assembled this morning to participate in the unveiling of a tablet, marking the site of the building which was used as Ohio's first statehouse.

The building was of great historic interest. Within its walls was held the last session of the Legislature of the Northwest territory; one hundred years ago to-day within its walls Ohio's first constitution was adopted by the members of the constitutional convention; for twelve years it served as Ohio's statehouse; in it the political and economic policies of our state were formulated and put into execution, the beneficial effects of which policies still influence the administration of our state affairs.



ROBERT W. MANLY.

In 1798 General Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest territory, appointed for Ross county Justices of a court of Quarter Session, and in the same year the court appointed Commissioners to arrange for the erection of a court house and other necessary county buildings and a deed was secured for the land upon which to erect the same.

In the year 1799, in view of the fact that the seat of government of the Northwest territory was to be removed from Cincinnati to Chillicothe, the court ordered that a levy of taxes

be made for the purpose of raising funds for the erection of a "stone court-house."

In 1800 the court appointed a commission to advertise for bids for the erection of a court house and also appointed a commission to superintend the erection of the building.

In 1801 the erection of the building was completed and the Territorial Legislature of 1801-2 was held in the new structure. In 1852 the building was torn down to take the place of our present court house.

During the past year the ladies of our city, members of the Century club, inaugurated a movement to mark with a tablet the site of the old state house. The chapters of the Daughters of the Revolution and the Daughters of the American Revolution in this city, took up the movement, and these three organizations with the assistance of many of our citizens, together with Mr. Henry H. Bennett, of this city, as designer, provided the tablet we are to unveil this morning.

And now, sir, representing the members of the Century club, the Daughters of the Revolution and the Daughters of the American Revolution, I present, on their behalf, to the public, through you, this tablet which marks the site of that building which was used as the first state house of Ohio.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE TABLET.

Following the presentation address, Miss Effie Scott, great-granddaughter of Gov. McArthur, unveiled the tablet.

Hon. W. D. Yapple, the Mayor of the city, accepted the tablet in an address, as follows:

Members of the Century Club, Daughters of the Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution and Ladies and Gentlemen:

From the most ancient time, it has been a custom among all nations, in all stages of civilization, to erect monuments, statues and tablets to perpetuate the memory of individuals, and in commemoration of historical events and occurrences. But for this custom much that we now recognize as the world's history would have been forever lost. The great pyramids of Egypt, the wonder of all ages since their erection, still bear and for ages to come will bear mute testimony of the existence of a great nation whose prowess long since vanished from the face of the earth, while the inscriptions upon the obelisks and temples erected during the flourishing period of that people, perpetuate much of the history.

In our time the Federal government and many of our State governments have expended and are still expending large sums of money in the erection of monuments on the great battle fields of our several wars, and in converting them into national parks, so that we are not without precedent in assembling here for the purpose of formally dedicating this tablet in commemoration of an event of importance in the history of our city, county, state and nation.

With the adoption of the constitution of the United States but little more than a century ago, there came into being a Republic whose form of government was an experiment on the part of



HON. W. D. YAPPLE.

those who formed it, and which was looked upon with suspicion and jealousy by the powers of Europe; but after weathering the storm which beset it during the first few years of its existence, it entered upon a period of growth and development truly wonderful, until to-day the experiment of 1787 has proven a "world power" and an American citizen is respected in foreign countries as was the Roman citizen in the palmy days of Rome.

Ohio was the fourth state to be added to the original thirteen and the first to be carved out of the Northwest territory, and as the inscription on the tablet just unveiled recites, "On this site stood the first state house of Ohio, wherein was adopted the original constitution of the commonwealth, November 29th, 1802."

From the time Ohio became a state her growth and progress has been a factor in the growth and development of the nation.

In times of war her people have shown their patriotism by their readiness to respond to the call to arms; and among the military heroes she is proud to number among her sons such national idols as Grant, Sherman, Sheridan and Custer.

In times of peace she has contributed her full quota to the ranks of the nation's statesmen, and the nation has honored Ohio by elevating five of her sons to the Presidency, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison and McKinley.

Chillicothe claims many of Ohio's distinguished sons, among whom may be mentioned Massie, Tiffin, Worthington, McArthur, Allen and Thurman; she has furnished to the commonwealth four governors, and to the nation four senators and nine representatives in Congress, and the wife of one of its chief executives.

We are fortunate in having with us to-day in the person of the eloquent gentleman who has presented this tablet on behalf of its donors, a lineal descendent of our first governor, Edward Tiffin; and in the person of the young lady who unveiled it a great-granddaughter of Governor McArthur and a granddaughter of William Allen the last of Ross county's citizens to occupy the governor's chair.

I have the honor to represent the people of this city and county, and to accept for them, and in their name, this tablet,

donated and erected by the Century Club, the Daughters of the Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution and numerous citizens, in commemoration of the adoption of the first constitution of the state of Ohio, and on the one hundredth anniversary thereof.

May it remain in its place to relate its historic story to all who may pause to read so long as Ohio remains a state and retains her proud position in the union of states.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS.

After an invitation extended by Mr. H. H. Bennett to the people to attend the afternoon ceremonials at Memorial hall, an informal reception was held in the court house. The strangers were introduced to Col. Wm. N. King, of Columbus, great grandson of Gov. Worthington, Mrs. Mary Manly, Miss Diathea Cook, Mrs. Frank Gilmore and Miss Eleanor Cook, grandchildren of Gov. Tiffin, Miss Eleanor Tower, of Detroit, and the Misses Cook, great granddaughters of Gov. Tiffin; Col. Matthews and sister, Mrs. Blackburn, of Cleveland, great grandchildren of Gov. Huntington; Dr. Walter S. Scott, W. Allen Scott, descendants of Gov. McArthur and Gov. William Allen; Miss Dorothy W. McArthur and Mrs. Allen W. McArthur, relatives of Gov. McArthur, and Mr. C. E. Kirker, of Manchester, great grandson and Mrs. C. E. Bedwell, of Columbus, great granddaughter of Speaker Kirker of the first Ohio House of Representatives, and also governor of the state. Gen. J. Warren Keifer, of Springfield, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives and Chairman of the State centennial commissioners and Historical Society Executive committee. Mr. S. S. Knabenshue, editor of the Toledo Blade, and a noted archæologist; Judge Rush R. Sloane, Sandusky, President of the Fire Lands Historical society. Mr. E. O. Randall, Secretary of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Fred. J. Heer, State Printer and Publisher of the Ohio State Historical Society publications.

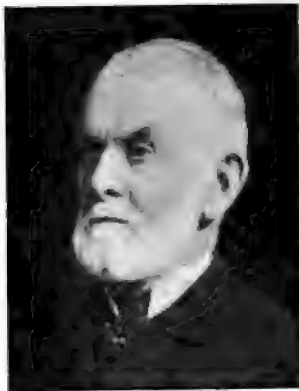
MEMORIAL HALL EXERCISES.

The afternoon exercises at Memorial hall were of a most interesting character and the attendance was large. Judge J. C.

Douglas presided and after a patriotic chorus by the Euterpean club, Mr. William T. McClintick, of Chillicothe, was introduced and spoke as follows:

Fellow Countrymen:

I bid you a hearty welcome on this, the day which marks the one hundredth year since the adoption of the First Constitution of the State of Ohio.



WILLIAM T. MCCLINTICK.

It is fit that one who was born in Ohio as early as February, 1819, should bid you such a welcome, for such a one may well serve as a connecting link between the past and the present,—the past of one hundred years ago, when Ohio was almost a wilderness, and the present, when it is almost a garden full of the fruits and flowers of the highest cultivation, and when the wilderness has literally been made to bloom and blossom as the rose.

I have said that I feel myself to be a connecting link between the past and present, and so I am, for I have personally known all the Governors of the state from Edward Tiffin and Thomas Worthington down to our present Governor, George K. Nash, except Samuel Huntington, who died in 1817, before I was born; Return Jonathan Meigs, who died in 1825, when I was but six years old, and Ethan Allen Brown, who removed from the state at an early day.

I had the honor of having a tooth pulled by Dr. Edward Tiffin, in my childhood, and my recollection of Governor Worthington riding down High Street on Sunday morning on a gray horse, with his little son, William Drake, behind him, hitching his horse to a post and then mounting the stile into my father's front yard and making his way, with his little son, to a rear room in my father's house to attend a Methodist class meeting, of which my father was the leader, is as fresh as if it had happened yesterday. William Drake and myself were provided with small

stools on which we sat while the meeting progressed. I also followed the procession which carried Governor Worthington to his grave, at Adena, in 1827.

Nathaniel Massie, the early Northwestern surveyor and pioneer, and the founder of our town of Chillicothe in 1796, died before I was born, but I knew his widow and all his children, all his grandchildren and many of his great grandchildren. One of his grandsons, Hon. D. M. Massie is a resident of our city, and would gladly have participated with us in this celebration, did not his duties as a Commissioner in Cuba forbid his presence here.

I might name many other distinguished men of that early period with whom I have spoken and shaken hands, such as Jacob Burnet, that great lawyer and Judge, who came to Ohio in 1796, and remained here until his death in 1853; William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, whose history is identified with the Northwest territory, and the state of Ohio, from 1795 or earlier, until his death at the White House in Washington City in April, 1841, while President of the United States, Duncan McArthur, whose services in peace and war are known to us all, and who died at his Fruit Hill home, near this city, in 1840. Long will his memory be honored and revered; William Creighton, Jr., who passed through Chillicothe on his way to Kentucky in 1796, looking for a location, and after returning to Virginia, again came, in 1798, to Chillicothe, where he made his permanent home. After the admission of Ohio into the Union, he was our first Secretary of State; afterward U. S. Attorney for the District of Ohio; then a member of the Ohio Legislature, and a member of the United States Congress in which office he served at intervals, for many years. He was president of the Branch bank of the United States in Chillicothe during its existence, and was appointed to the office of United States District Judge in 1828, which he held until March 4th, 1829. After his retirement from Congress in 1833 he was not again a candidate for any public office. He was, along with Col. Wm. Key Bond, my preceptor in law studies from 1837 to 1840, and afterward my partner in practice. I never knew a more genial and kindly man, a more sincere lover of the poor, or a stancher friend. He died October 2, 1851.

Did time permit, I might swell this list to a very large number of the eminent men of that early period with whom I was personally acquainted.

The change in the face of the country which has taken place in that part of the great West which constitutes the state of Ohio, since the adoption of the state Constitution in 1802, and the present time, might well challenge comment, as most extraordinary and wonderful—but we must hasten to consider the story of the old house memorable in the history of the state, as the first statehouse of Ohio.

My early recollection of the court house square, bounded east by Paint street, north by the alley between Second and Main streets, west by private property (now the Presbyterian church), and south by Main street, goes back to a period when there were but three houses on the lot. These were the court house proper, of stone, about sixty feet square, curving outwardly on the west side; another brick house of two stories of about the same size as the court house, which stood about ten feet south of it, fronting toward Main street, the upper story of which was connected with the upper story of the court house by an enclosed corridor, lighted by windows on either side. The third house was the jail, in the rear of the court house, in which William Rutledge, the jailer, resided with his family.

I was told in my childhood that the brick house fronting toward Main street had been a part of the state house prior to the removal of the capital from Chillicothe to Columbus, the lower story being occupied by the state offices, and the upper story by the Ohio Senate; while the upper story of the court house was occupied by the House of Representatives, the enclosed corridor being the means of communication between the two houses, through which a sergeant-at-arms could pass, or one body join the other when required to meet in joint session.

The lower room of the court house proper was used for the sittings of the United States District and Circuit courts, the Supreme Court of Ohio, and the Court of Common Pleas of the county.

I do not remember the tearing down and removal of the building which had its frontage toward Main street. It was prob-

ably done after 1830, and contemporaneously with the erection of the two story brick edifice at the Northwest corner of Main and Paint streets, which latter had a frontage of probably forty feet on Paint street, and fifty feet on Main street, the lower story being occupied on Paint street by the office of the Clerk of Courts and the County Auditor, and the frontage on Main street by a wide hall and stairway and the office of the County Recorder. The upper story was occupied by lawyers' offices.

I was admitted to the bar of Ohio in March, 1840. I remember the court room as it was then, and doubtless had been from the beginning. The Judge's bench was in the curve at the west side, about six or eight feet above the floor, with space for the Presiding Judge and his three associates in the Common Pleas; the Clerk's desk in front, about four feet lower, with juror's seats on either side, on the same level; the Sheriff's box and the witness stand on the south side, and the lawyer's desks arranged in front, the whole enclosed by a bar, so as to shut it off from the crowd of spectators who thronged the room on the opening day of the court or when causes of general interest were being heard. Four tall, fluted pillars were interspersed at equal intervals for the support of the upper floor.

The room was heated in winter by a wide open fire-place, inside the bar, on the north side of the house, and by an old-fashioned tin plate stove in the center, outside the bar.

The stairway started near a door on the north side of the house, and extended upward with the wall on that side, about half way, when it turned to the right along the East side, to the upper floor, which was occupied by a large room for the use of the grand and petit juries as occasion required, with two smaller rooms for witnesses and other purposes. In this large upper room were also held the meetings of literary societies, with lectures on literary subjects, and otherwise by the citizens, when not occupied for public purposes.

Later a two-story building of limited dimensions was erected south of the court house, fronting directly on Main street, the lower story of which when I returned from college in 1837, was occupied by a volunteer fire company, the "Citizen's" of which I was a member, and the upper story for the Mayor's office. This

building was not removed until 1853 or 1854, prior to the erection of the present court house.

In 1840, the bench was occupied by the Hon. John H. Keith as Presiding Judge, with his three associates, from the business walks of life. Col. Wm. Key Bond had removed to Cincinnati and Gen. John L. Green had taken his place as the partner of Mr. Creighton. The firms Creighton & Green and Allen & Thurman had the largest practice. The other lawyers were Thomas Scott & Son, Henry Brush, Benjamin G. Leonard, Frederick Grimke, Richard Douglas, Joseph Sill, William S. Murphy, Jonathan F. Woodside, Henry Massie, John L. Taylor, Robert Bethel, Gustavus Scott, James Caldwell, Amos Holton, and perhaps others, not now recalled.

Mr. Theodore Sherer, who had read the law with Messrs. Allen & Thurman, and I, with Creighton & Bond, were admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court on the circuit in Scioto county, Ohio, in March, 1840. From that time we continued to fight our legal battles in the old court house until the spring of 1852, when one day in March of that year, I was passing through the court house yard on the way to my office upstairs in the building I have heretofore described as on the corner of Main and Paint streets, I heard Charles Martin, then Sheriff, of the county, crying off, under the order of the County Commissioners the court house for sale. "Who bids?" said he. In jest, I said "Seventy-five dollars," and passed on to my office, forgetful of my jest, and was soon absorbed in the study of some case. What was my surprise, when some minutes later the Sheriff appeared to inform me that I was the purchaser of the court house. What was I to do with it? It ought to have been allowed to stand as a monument of the early days in Ohio history, but the Commissioners were inexorable, and the terms of sale required it to be taken down and removed without delay. Unfortunately for the city, but very fortunately for me, "the great fire" occurred on April 1st, 1852, and a demand for stone, brick and lumber sprang up for rebuilding, and so the old court house vanished into cellar walls, stables, etc., and became a thing of the past save a few relics which curiosity lovers preserved.

The court house square was soon covered with stone and lumber for the present building, but the corner stone was not laid until July 12th, 1855, when the Hon. Thomas Scott and myself had the honor of delivering addresses on the occasion from a point where the northeast pillar of the portico now stands.

Such was my personal connection with the building, on whose frontage we have this day placed a tablet commemorating

*"The site on which stood the first state house of Ohio wherein
was adopted the original constitution of the commonwealth."*

THE FIRST CONSTITUTION.

WHAT INFLUENCED ITS ADOPTION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON OHIO.

Hon. Daniel J. Ryan was introduced by Judge J. C. Douglas, and spoke as follows:

Fellow citizens of Ohio:

In order to appreciate intelligently the event which we celebrate here to-day it is necessary that we have a clear conception of the principal actors concerned therein, and of the times and surroundings of a century ago in the Scioto Valley. The first constitutional convention, from an intellectual standpoint, is the greatest, as well as the most picturesque episode in the history of our State, and the events which led up to it read like a romance. The conversion of a wilderness into a garden; the invasion of the Virginians; the overthrow of the great Arthur St. Clair; the struggle for statehood; the victory of the people over the aristocracy; the framing of the constitution for a people without their consultation or consent, are all events that form a background for a picture that has no parallel in American history. And all these scenes were enacted in a theatre of intellect; the



HON. D. J. RYAN.

only weapons were tongues and pens, but they were directed by men who for brains and bravery are worthy of every tribute of admiration and respect that the people of Ohio can to-day bestow upon them.

Six years prior to 1802, there came into the Scioto Valley a young Virginian named Nathaniel Massie. He had served in the Revolutionary War from his native State at the age of seventeen, and at nineteen started to Kentucky to pursue his vocation of surveying the public lands and placing warrants for soldiers of the Revolution. He founded Manchester in Adams county, and in 1796 penetrated the Scioto Valley, which was then a beautiful but savagely wild territory. He located in the region about us to-day and laid out Chillicothe. It is easy to understand how he was attracted to this glorious land, which, then, as now, bore all the evidence of the richness of nature.

One of his companions in his tours of surveying and exploration was John McDonald, afterward of Poplar Ridge in this (Ross) county, and sixty-two years ago he wrote a description of the land about Chillicothe as he saw it with Massie in 1796. His little volume—"McDonald's Sketches"—is now exceedingly rare and on that account I take the liberty to repeat in his plain style what he wrote. His description of the surroundings of the site selected by Massie for his town, and the condition of the same territory to-day shows a wondrous transformation from a land of savagery to the garden spot of a commonwealth of the highest civilization. Here is his picture of the Scioto Valley in the spring of 1796; "About four or five miles above the mouth of Paint Creek, the river (Scioto) suddenly makes a bend, and runs a short distance east, thence southeast to the mouth of Paint Creek. That stream, the largest tributary of the Scioto, for four or five miles above its mouth, runs almost parallel with the Scioto. Between these two streams there is a large and beautiful bottom, four or five miles in length, and varying from one to two miles in breadth, and contains within the space upwards of three thousand acres. This bottom (as also the bottoms of the Scioto and Paint Creek generally), is very fertile; the loam of alluvial formation being from three to ten feet in depth. These bottoms, when first settled, were generally covered by a heavy growth of timber, such

as black walnut, sugar tree, cherry, buckeye, hackberry and other trees which denote a rich soil. A portion of them, however, were found destitute of timber, and formed beautiful prairies, clothed with blue grass and blue sedgegrass, which grew to the height of from four to eight feet, and furnished a bountiful supply of pasture in summer and hay in winter, for the live stock of the settlers. The outer edges of these prairies were beautifully fringed around with the plum tree, the red and black haw, the mulberry and crab apple. In the month of May, when those nurseries of nature's God were in full bloom, the sight was completely gratified, while the fragrant and delicious perfume, which filled the surrounding atmosphere, was sufficient to fill and lull the soul with ecstasies of pleasure. The western boundary of this valley, between the two streams, is a hill two or three hundred feet in height. Its base to the south is closely washed by Paint Creek, and where this stream first enters the valley, it terminates in an abrupt point, and then extends up the valley of the Scioto, in a northwest and north course, for many miles, and forms the western boundary of the bottoms along that stream. From the point where the hill abruptly terminates at Paint Creek, running north-northeast at the distance of about one mile across the valley, you reach the bank of the Scioto, at the sudden bend it makes to the east. The valley between this bend of the Scioto and Paint Creek, immediately below the point of the hill, was selected as a site for the town. This part of the valley was chosen, as it consisted of high and dry land not subject to the floods of the river, which frequently inundated the valley towards the mouth of Paint Creek."

It was amid these natural surroundings that Massie selected the site that was to be the standing point, of a great, powerful, wealthy and patriotic State.

The territory of the Scioto Valley had for centuries been the selected living place of divers races of men. In the very dawn of human knowledge it was populated by the mysterious race of mound-builders and was the seat of their cities, camping places, fortifications and altars. Attracted, doubtless, by the magnificent soil, beautiful scenery and natural resources, both of the animal and vegetable kingdom, they filled this valley in great numbers

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until driven away or destroyed by a succeeding race. After them came the Shawnees, famed for their bravery and numbers, and occupied for perhaps centuries the land along the Scioto river in their populous towns. They too, lived in this elysium of natural bliss, receiving from bounteous nature all that forest and chase could give. The very beauty and richness of the land made them guard it with such jealous spirit, that when Massie first entered it, it was a great and expansive territory of danger and death to the white man.

Chillicothe, in the very heart of the Virginian Military District, at once attracted immigration from Virginia. It was in the midst of a great domain reserved by that State for the use and settlement of her loyal sons that served in the war for independence. The influx of settlers commenced as soon as the town was laid out and even before the winter of 1796 it had stores and taverns and shops for mechanics. The influence of civilized life soon began to unfold and within a few years a substantial town was in full operation, with a population of one thousand.

In the spring of 1798 there came to Chillicothe from Berkley county, Virginia, one whose life and actions influenced the history of Ohio in a greater degree than any man in its history. This was Edward Tiffin. He played such an important part in subsequent events, including the first constitutional convention, that we may well pause in our labors to-day to view a full length portrait of his remarkable career. It will help us to understand his power and the wonderful work he accomplished. He appeared upon the scene of action in the Northwest Territory in its creative period, when the work of moulding the destinies of a future commonwealth was committed to the care of very few men. Head and shoulders above them all stood Edward Tiffin. His subsequent official life displayed a greater general average of statesmanship than any of his contemporaries. He met successfully all the opportunities and responsibilities of his life, which is the best indication of ability. His work in creating, advancing and developing Ohio has not been equalled by any man in its history. His boyhood was spent in the city of Carlisle, England, where he was born June 19, 1766. He emigrated to this country when eighteen, and after an excellent medical education obtained in

the University of Pennsylvania, settled in Berkley county, Virginia. There amid the scenes and lives of the early Virginians he spent several years as a quiet and successful physician. When he came to Chillicothe he was still a physician, practicing with marked success financially and professionally. In the sparsely settled Scioto Valley his labors carried him over many miles of travel, and he formed the friendships that explains much of his popularity in after years. He had decided views on politics; the principles of Jefferson were adopted by him early in his Virginian life, and his anti-Federal proclivities were well-known in his new home.

In 1799 the people of the Northwest Territory assumed the legislative form of government and under the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787, they elected a legislature, there being at that time five thousand male voters in the territory. Dr. Tiffin was sent as a representative from Chillicothe and upon the assembling of the first Territorial Legislature at Cincinnati he was unanimously elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, which position he held until Ohio became a State. He was a man of strong religious and moral convictions. In his early life he was an Episcopalian; in 1790 he associated himself with the Methodist church and was consecrated by Francis Asbury, the missionary bishop, as a local preacher. Thus he brought into the new territory beyond the Ohio, with his professional skill, the still greater influence of the spiritual physician. In both capacities he firmly held the confidence of his fellow citizens throughout his life. Upon his entry into the church he manumitted his slaves, and his subsequent record shows how sincere were his convictions on this subject. As President of the first Constitutional Convention he won still greater honors and established his reputation as a man of unquestioned ability; indeed so pronounced and universal was this that he was elected Governor of the new State in January, 1803, without opposition. He was re-elected in 1805, without opposition, and in 1807 declined a third term which public sentiment was ready to confer upon him. During his second term he summarily arrested the participants in the Aaron Burr expedition, which resulted in the flight of Burr and the breaking up of the conspiracy. His vigorous and prompt

measures on this occasion called forth a public letter of thanks from President Jefferson. In 1807 he was elected United States Senator from Ohio. While in the Senate he was the means of securing much valuable legislation for the new State. Appropriations for the Ohio river, and for surveying the public lands were obtained by him, and much of the same kind of practical work which characterized him as Governor marked his Senatorial term. He resigned in March 1809, owing to the death of his wife. It so affected him that he determined to retire from public life. Returning to his once happy home in Chillicothe, it was his intention to spend his remaining days in peace, but notwithstanding his desires his fellow-citizens elected him to the Legislature, where he was unanimously elected Speaker of the House. He was afterwards appointed Commissioner of the Land Office, being the first to hold that office, he systematized the claims and surveys of the public lands. He was in Washington in 1814 when it was burned by the British. President Madison, his Cabinet and the heads of the departments fled like cowards in the panic and all the public records of the American Republic were destroyed except the records of the Land Commissioner's office. Edward Tiffin stayed and saved the complete records of his department. So complete, compact and systematic were they maintained, and so cool and level-headed was their custodian that they were removed to a place of concealment in Loudan county, Virginia, ten miles out of Washington. All the other departments lost all their records; Edward Tiffin saved all of his. He closed his life as Surveyor General of the West, which position he held during the administration of Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams and into Jackson's. He died here in Chillicothe amidst the people who loved and honored him for more than a third of a century, after a remarkable life of usefulness and distinction.

This was the Edward Tiffin that confronted Arthur St. Clair in the great contest for statehood which resulted in the convention, the century of which we celebrate to-day. And Tiffin had a foe-man worthy of his steel. Arthur St. Clair, the first and only Governor of the Northwest Territory, was one of the most brilliant and distinguished military characters of the Revolutionary

War. A contemporary writer calls him "the great St. Clair," and while in the gubernatorial chair of the Northwest, Judge Burnet marked him as "unquestionably a man of uprightness of purpose, as well as suavity of manners." Courtly, scholarly and honest, he was a fitting representative of the government in a new land. St. Clair, as his name indicates, was of French origin although his ancestors had for centuries lived in Scotland, where he was born in 1734. He received his education at Edinburgh University, and was indentured as a student of medicine. He disliked this, and purchasing his time, he entered the English army in 1757. He was in the French and Indian War, and served under General Wolfe at Quebec, where his conduct was gallant, and effective. He resigned from the English army in 1762 and settled down to civil life in Pennsylvania, where he filled many positions of trust, honor and importance. When the colonies rebelled against Great Britain, St. Clair threw his entire fortune and enthusiasm on the side of his country. In 1775 he was summoned to Philadelphia by a letter from John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress, which was then in session. His record from thence is a part of the history of the Republic. He was then assistant and confidant of Washington; he was a member of his military family and shared the hardships of Valley Forge, together with the victories of many hard fought battles. St. Clair, after the Revolution, retired to civil life. His fortune was gone in the whirligig of war. He started into the Revolution a rich man; when peace was declared the riches had flown. In 1786 he was in Congress from Pennsylvania, and as a hero of two wars and a distinguished patriot he was elected its president in 1787. This Congress formulated and passed the Ordinance of 1787, under which St. Clair was nominated to the governorship of the Northwest Territory, which occurred October 5th. Governor St. Clair accepted his new honor with misgivings. He says in his letters that it was forced upon him by his friends, who expected that there was more pecuniary compensation attached to it than events proved. It was supposed that the opportunities for land speculation would be so great that St. Clair would make money out of his advantages of position. But he was not so inclined, nor did he expect such a result. He was satisfied with

and frankly stated, that he had the "ambition of becoming the father of a country and laying the foundation for the happiness of millions then unborn." His unfortunate career as governor showed that he thwarted in every way his expressed ambitions. When Edward Tiffin entered upon the scene of action in the Northwest Territory, Arthur St. Clair was an old man, worn with the campaigns of war and the conflicts of politics. There was little save its dignity to show that the classic face was that of the handsome Ensign St. Clair, who used to wield the accomplishments of the drawing-room among the Bowdoin and Bayards of Boston thirty years before.

The entrance of the followers of Thomas Jefferson into the Northwest Territory was the commencement of a political war against Governor St. Clair that for persistency and bitterness was equal to the famous controversy of Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr. Edward Tiffin had as his chief associates and lieutenants, Nathaniel Massie, Thomas Worthington, Jeremiah Morrow and Return J. Meigs, Jr., all men of the highest character and inspired by noble ambitions. They believed in the people; they were not only opposed to the Federalistic principles of St. Clair, but resented the arbitrary and offensive methods of his administration. The Scotch governor knew of but two ways to control or govern men; they were to pull them or drive them. The Virginians would stand for neither method. So their opposition to St. Clair went not only to his principles, but to his methods. His exercise of the veto power invited the strongest opposition. He was an advocate of strong government. He did not believe in conferring on the citizen the fullest powers and responsibilities of American citizenship. He favored property qualification for electors. He got into a controversy with the Legislature over his own powers and prerogatives. He claimed and exercised the power of locating county seats and erecting new counties. This the Legislature denied, and attempted to enact laws on this subject which he promptly vetoed. In his contest with the Virginians he was supported by other able Federalists in the persons of General Putnam, Dr. Cutler and Judge Jacob Burnett.

It is not essential to our purpose to go into the details of the controversy that waged in the Territory from 1799 to 1802. There were acts of Congress, of the Territorial Legislature, and of the Governor, that furnished food for the bitterest contests. The Virginians were playing for the greatest stake in American politics — a state of the Union. The Federalists were making their last stand, struggling for power both in the East and the West. It was almost pathetic to see the noble compatriot of Washington bending beneath the new storm that was arising. The reign of the people was abroad in the Northwest. Whatever virtue of Washington's, Hamilton's and St. Clair's Federal views as to concentrated power had in the then populous East, they were not respected by the yeoman of Ohio. The settler who fought his way into the heart of the Great West believed that he should have a full share in its government. And this was why the position of Tiffin was popular with the voters of his day. In the face of almost insuperable impediments, Tiffin won his fight for statehood.

The enabling act of Congress providing for the erection of the new state was approved April 30, 1802. It fixed the boundaries and provided for holding the constitutional convention on the first Monday of the following November. Edward Tiffin was very naturally elected to that body, and was as naturally selected as its president. His belief in the people is prevalent upon nearly every page of the organic law. The very first question of criticism that always arises in a consideration of this convention and of the constitution which it produced is that relative to the fact that that instrument was never submitted to the people for adoption or inspection. How did it develop that these men who made such a magnificent struggle for popular rights failed to submit their work to the people? A single reference to the enabling act will show the reason for the apparent dereliction. The fifth section provides that the convention shall first determine whether it is expedient to form a state constitution and government. This it did on the third day by a vote of 32 to 1. The only opposing vote being Ephraim Cutler of Washington county.

Such a conclusion being arrived at, the act specifically authorized the convention "to form a constitution and state government." It required no approval of the people. There was no legal machinery provided to secure such expression. It was the evident intent of the framers of the act in question to commit the whole and exclusive duty of forming the first constitution of Ohio to the convention. The theory on which the convention was formed was that under the act of Congress it (the convention) was a strictly representative body, acting for and in the name of the sovereign people, and that it possessed by actual transfer all the inherent power of the sovereign, limited only by the constitution of the United States. In other words, it was a virtual assemblage of the people, of whom, by reason of their great numbers and remoteness from each other, an actual constitutional convention was impossible. They met clothed with all the power the sovereign would have if gathered together. The convention might say what Louis XIV said: "We are the State." The soundness of this position is strengthened when we search the records on the adoption of the constitutions of other states. The result shows that the following submitted their first constitution to the people for expression: California, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, Texas, West Virginia and Wisconsin, fifteen in number. The states which did not submit their first constitution to the people are as follows: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, New Hampshire, Ohio, South Carolina, Tennessee and Vermont; in all twenty-one states whose conventions, with that of Ohio, regarded themselves as the sovereign source of power. So far as this feature of the first constitutional convention is concerned, it may be regarded as settled that it was neither extraordinary, nor without dignified and patriotic precedent.

The spirit of the contest which culminated in statehood seemed to run through the constitution. The executive branch of the state government was stripped of all authority. It left the name of "governor" to apply to an office that had more honor

and dignity than power. The men who controlled the convention did not believe in dividing legislative power, and therefore gave to the general assembly sole power of making laws. They did not propose that the governor should interfere by veto power of the people. And it can be truthfully said as a tribute to these views of Tiffin and the men of 1802, that after a hundred years there has not developed a sufficiently different public sentiment to change the active veto principle of their organic law. Next year the people of Ohio vote on an amendment to their constitution expressly granting the governor the right of veto. I do not believe there will be any change from the original idea introduced in the first constitution. The total absence of property qualifications for office is another indication of the antagonism of the convention to the views of St. Clair. They seemed determined to outlaw every element of aristocracy. This provision has also stood test of two subsequent constitutional conventions, and stands firmer in our organic law than ever.

In apportioning the sovereign power of the people among their official agents the convention gave by far the greater power to the Legislature. The right to make all the laws without any limitation but constitution itself has been carried up to modern times. The money of the state was committed wholly to the legislature and that is where it is today.

The general provisions of the bill of rights and the specific powers of the state government have been practically those under which the people of Ohio have lived for one hundred years. The second constitution of Ohio adopted in 1851 by a vote of the people followed throughout substantially the government lines laid down by the first constitutional conventions. The changes introduced were the result of the advanced progress of the state rather than a difference of constitutional ideas.

When Thomas Jefferson expressed his opinion to Jeremiah Morrow in 1803 on the constitution he approved it generally, except the provision relating to the erection of the judiciary, which he thought was too restricted for the future wants of the state. He said, "They had legislated too much." Whatever was done by the men of the first convention their descendants followed

them in 1851, for the same restrictions are apparent in the second constitution.

The satisfaction which the original constitution gave the people of the state is illustrated by their refusal to change it for fifty years. When Thomas Worthington was governor in 1817, he recommended the holding of a convention to form a new constitution. Afterwards, in 1818, Governor Ethan Allen Brown made a similar recommendation, and in 1819 the question of a second constitutional convention was submitted to the people of Ohio, and in a total vote of 36,302 was rejected by a majority of 22,328 votes.

The principal objection to the original constitution was the fact that the judiciary and state officers were appointed by a joint ballot of both houses of the General Assembly. Jefferson saw this would give trouble in the future. Its operations as afterwards developed, caused scandal, contention and disgrace, and hence the demand of Governors Worthington and Brown for an opportunity to change.

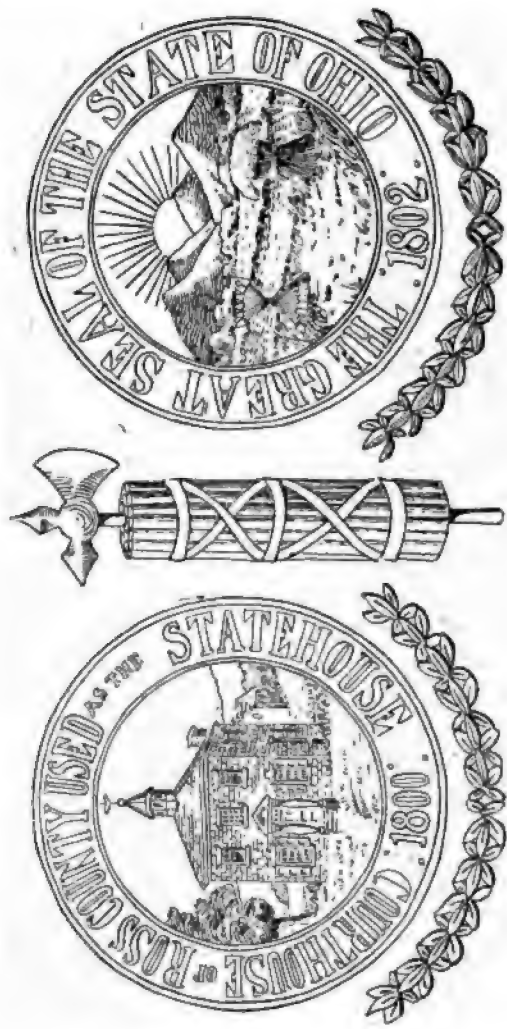
§ This conflict between the judiciary and the legislature commenced in 1818 and lasted for several years to the great disturbance of the proper administration of law. It appears that in 1805 the legislature gave justices of the peace jurisdiction without a jury to the amount of fifty dollars. As the constitution of the United States guaranteed trial by jury to the suits in which over twenty dollars was involved the Supreme Court very properly in a case before it, decided the law void and unconstitutional, for the Constitution of Ohio provided that "the right of trial by jury shall be inviolate." The judicial decision was constructed as an insult by the Legislature. As a result resolutions of impeachment were preferred in the Sixth General Assembly against Judges Huntington and Tod of the Supreme Court, and Judge Pease, presiding judge of the Third Circuit. Nothing was done at this session. While these articles of impeachment were pending Judge Huntington was elected governor, and of course resigned the judgeship. But the efforts at impeachment went on. Charges, however, were not made against Governor Huntington, but were preferred against Judges Tod and Pease.

Their answer to the charges of impeachment was the Constitutions of the United States and the State of Ohio. The result was an acquittal in both cases. Another incident growing out of the legislative power conferred by the first constitution was the sweeping resolution passed in 1819. This resolution passed in January swept out of office every judge of the Supreme Court, and the Court of Common Pleas, the secretary of state, the auditor, the treasurer of state, and also all the justices of the peace throughout the state. This resulted in interminable conflict and confusion, but it was the exercise of the power of the legislature.

1809

If it were not for this single feature which caused these violent party strifes there is every probability that we would be living under the constitution of 1802 today. Indeed, a reference to the political literature of the time preceding the holding of the convention of 1851, will show that the election of the judiciary and other state offices was the most potent argument used in favoring a new constitution.

This convention that laid the political foundations of the state of Ohio so heavy and deep that substantially, they have never been changed, was formed of strong men. Out of the thirty-five all but two of them were from Southern and Southeastern Ohio. The Western Reserve played little part in this great work. She opposed both the territorial government and the state government. It is to the men who came from Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and New York that the credit for the founding of Ohio must be given. They were the characters that dominated the first convention. It was their ideas of government that were injected into the first Constitution, and for the first fifty and the last fifty years of the state those ideas have prevailed. And the one man who conducted all, who influenced all, who executed all, was the minister, physician, parliamentarian, governor, senator and honest man — Edward Tiffin, of Chillicothe.



ON THIS SITE STOOD THE FIRST STATE
HOUSE OF OHIO. WHEREIN WAS ADOPTED
THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION OF THE
COMMONWEALTY. NOVEMBER XXIX. MDCCII

Designed by May Nelson Bennett, Cincinnati.

Engraved by Geo. Williams, New York.

A CENTURY OF STATEHOOD.

ADDRESS BY GEORGE K. NASH.

[On the evening of Saturday, December 27, 1902, the members of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce participated in their "Annual Christmas Dinner." It was an elaborate banquet held in the spacious hall of the Chamber of Commerce. Many distinguished speakers were present, among them being Major-General Henry C. Corbin, Major-General Samuel B. M. Young, Major-General Adna R. Chaffee, Hon. John G. Milburn, of Buffalo. One of the speakers of the evening was Governor George K. Nash, whose topic was "A Century of Statehood." The address was so timely in this centennial year, that we publish it in full.—E. O. R.]

The Governor said:

The subject which your committee has set aside for me to speak upon is, "A Century of Statehood." I suppose that they



HON. GEORGE K. NASH.

desired when they gave me this toast, to have me say something about the growth of the splendid state of Ohio during the 100 years of her existence. When Ohio became a state we were but a wilderness. We had almost nothing. We had our forests; we had our undeveloped resources, but we had a strong and splendid set of pioneers—the bravest, the best, the most patriotic pioneers who ever hewed the forest or builded up a state. (Applause.)

When Ohio became a part of this union, we had but three incorporated villages, Marietta, Chillicothe and Cincinnati, each with less than 1,000 people. In the state we had but 45,000 people. From this you see that our population was entirely rural in its character. Fifty years went by, and in 1850 the census showed that we had but nine cities with more than 5,000 people.

The largest was Cincinnati with 115,000, and in them all there were less than 200,000 of population. The following year the convention assembled which framed the new constitution for the state of Ohio. That convention provided and laid down an iron-clad rule that all cities should be governed by a general law, and that there should be no special charters. That, perhaps, was not an unreasonable rule at that time, for then there were but the nine cities, the largest 115,000, altogether less than 200,000 people. It would not be a very hard thing to provide one law which should control those nine cities.

Another fifty years went by, and the supreme court of the state had reaffirmed the iron-bound rule of the constitution. The general assembly was called in extra session. Then we found that Ohio had seventy-one cities with more than 5,000 people. The largest was your own splendid city of Cleveland with its 370,000. In them all there were 1,800,000 people to be governed by the new law. What was an easy task in 1851 was a most difficult task in 1902. A new general law was made for the government of our cities. The general assembly, considering all its difficulties, did the best that it could; but, from the din which has surrounded my ears for the last few months, I am quite sure there are quite a few people among the 1,800,000 who are not satisfied. (Laughter.) But I trust, fellow citizens and members of the Chamber of Commerce, that you will remember that the best code can be spoiled by bad administrators, and that the poorest code will seem to be the best with good administrators. I therefore hope that you as good citizens of Cleveland, that all good citizens of the state, will take the new code and do the best they can with it by seeing that honest, intelligent and upright men are elected to your municipal offices in April next. (Applause.)

Going back to 1850, I discover that Cleveland under the census had but 17,100 inhabitants, and I also discover that my own city of Columbus had 17,800. We were ahead of you then, but we have given up the race. We are willing to take off our hats and say 'Cleveland men go ahead, for this place belongs to you.' (Applause.) But Cincinnati still thinks that she is in the race. To be sure, since 1850, Cleveland has become twenty-two

times as large as she was then and Cincinnati only three times as large as she was then. (Applause.) Sometimes I have wondered at the growth and prosperity of this great city of Cleveland. It has been a mystery to me, but tonight the mystery is solved. When I have looked upon this splendid assemblage of representatives of Cleveland citizenship I do not wonder that you have grown and prospered. I almost believe if the great lake was taken away from your doors that Cleveland would still continue to grow and prosper.

In these 100 years not only has our population increased, but we have also increased in manufacturing, in mining, and in all the paths of industry. There were no mines developed in Ohio when she became a state. Now, last year 25,000 men were employed in coal mining; they produced more than 20,000,000 tons of coal of the value, upon the cars at the mines ready for shipment, of more than \$23,000,000. Our railroads not only have been commenced, but they have grown until all parts of the state are crossed by them and last year we had 8,700 miles of railroad. Their employes numbered more than 67,000. The wages paid to these employes amounted to more than \$42,000,000. The gross income of these railroads was \$101,000,000 and their net earnings about \$13,000,000.

Then in agriculture we have grown and prospered as well as in the other industries. The value of all the farm products produced in Ohio during the year 1900 was more than \$200,000,000. I want to call attention to our manufacturing industries. In our manufacturing establishments last year we employed an army of 345,000 men. Their wages amounted to \$123,000,000, and the things which they made were of the value of more than \$800,000,000. (Applause.) This shows how our state has grown and prospered.

But it is not of our material wealth of which we should be most proud. Ohio has been engaged in better business. During all these 100 years she has been engaged in the work of raising splendid men and women, who have added fame and luster to her name, have done splendid service for our state as well as for our whole nation. (Applause.) This has been the result, because one of the characteristics of the state, from the very

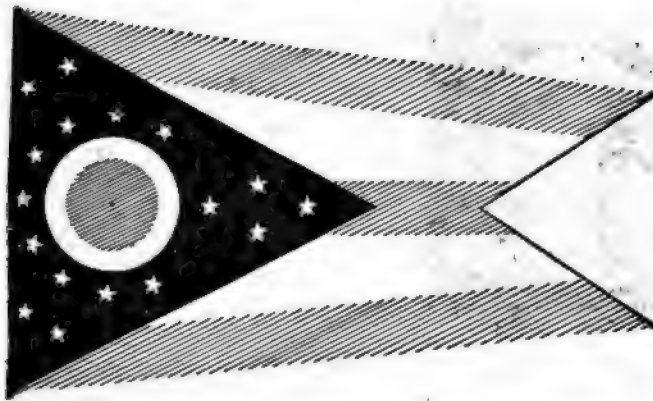
beginning has been the pride which our people have taken in their public schools. During the last thirty-five years the people of Ohio have spent upon her public schools the sum of \$360,000,000 (applause), and during her whole history the sum thus expended has been more than half a billion dollars.

Then, again, the people of Ohio have been and are a patriotic people. Our foundation stone was the great ordinance of 1787. It has been said that a better law for the government of mankind has never been conceived by the mind of man. One of the provisions of that great ordinance was, that human slavery should never exist in the states created out of that territory. Another of its provisions declared that education and religion are necessary for the happiness of mankind. Therefore, our people have made provision for that.

But of all the good provisions of that great law, I think the one was the best which declared the said territory, and the states which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America. (Applause.) Calhoun and his followers, those who afterwards took part as members of the southern confederacy, contended that this nation was a mere confederation of states, which could be broken at the will of any state. The people of the north contended that this was not the case. About this controversy we waged cruel war for four long years. It seems to me that this extract from the ordinance of 1787 destroyed forever the argument then put forth. If the old constitution was an unstable compact from which any state could be withdrawn, the passage of this ordinance of 1787 by the congress of the United States, with all the votes of the members of that congress, north and south, except one destroyed that doctrine, and declared that this union should last forever, because they provided that the states erected in the northwest territory should be forever a part of the confederacy of the United States. (Applause.)

When Ohio sent forth her soldiers from 1861 to 1865 to fight for the union of states she was simply upholding the declarations of their fathers put forth in this ordinance of 1787. Happily, this contest is over. Every state in this union, not only those which existed in the northwest territory, not only the states

of the north, but also the states of the south, are united in the declaration of the old ordinance of 1787, and now are willing to say that the confederacy of the United States of America shall last forever.



THE OHIO FLAG.

THE WYANDOT CHIEF, LEATHER LIPS.

HIS TRIAL AND EXECUTION.

BY WM. L. CURRY.

Away back in the thirties of the 19th century, a literary magazine of high order called "The Hesperian of the West" was published in Columbus, Ohio. In fact, it is the only literary periodical that ever was published in the Capital City of Ohio.



MONUMENT TO LEATHER LIPS.

In the publication of this magazine, William D. Gallagher and Otway Curry, both men of high literary attainments were associated together as editors. Poems from the pens of both of these writers have been published largely throughout the west, with the writings of Geo. D. Prentice, Phoebe and Alice Cary, Piatt, Mrs. Sigourney and other distinguished authors, in a book published somewhere in the fifties under the caption "Poets and Poetry of the West." I have in my possession, two volumes of the "The Hesperian" in which are published several articles which are of historical interest to the citizens of Columbus and Franklin County. Almost within sight of the capitol building on the west bank of the Scioto River, ten miles north of Columbus, where the "Wyandot Club" has erected a monument to mark the spot where the noted Indian Chief, Leather Lips* was executed was enacted a thrilling tragedy in the summer of 1810.

While some of the pioneers residing along the Scioto can relate incidents connected with the execution of this Indian Chief, handed down by their ancestors, the Sells' Davis' Currys' and others, still these stories are largely traditional.

*His Indian name was Shateyaronyah.

When a young boy, I remember distinctly hearing my father and my Uncle Captain James Curry who served in the war of 1812 with Asa Davis and who was also an intimate friend of Captain Samuel Davis a famous Indian fighter with Simon Kenton and Lewis Whetzel, relate in every detail the story of Leather Lips, as told to them by these old pioneers. In a volume of the *Hesperian*, published in 1838, is an article written by Otway Curry which gives the full particulars of the execution as related to the writer by Mr. Benjamin Sells and other witnesses to the execution who were living at the time the article was written and so far as can be ascertained, it is the only authentic history ever published. The article written by Mr. Curry is prefaced by a brief history of the Wyandot tribe to which Leather Lips belonged, as follows:—

THE DOOMED WYANDOT.

The great northern family of Indian tribes which seem to have been originally embraced in the generic term Iroquois, consisted, according to some writers, of two grand divisions, the eastern and the western. In the eastern division were included the five nations or Maquas, (Mingos) as they were commonly called by the Algonkin tribes and in the western the Yendots or Wyandots, (nick-named Hurons by the French) and three or four other nations, of whom a large proportion are now entirely extinct. The Yendots, after a long and deadly warfare, were nearly exterminated by the Five Nations, about the middle of the seventeenth century. Of the survivors, part sought refuge in Canada, where their descendents still remain; a few were incorporated among the different tribes of the conquerors, and the remainder, consisting chiefly of the Tionontates retired to Lake Superior. In consequence of the disastrous wars in which they afterwards became involved with other powerful nations of the northwestern region, they again repaired to the vicinity of their old hunting grounds. With this remnant of the original Huron or Wyandot nation, were united some scattered fragments of other broken-up tribes of the same stock, and though comparatively few in number they continued for a long period, to assert successfully the right of sovereignty over the whole extent of country between the Ohio River and the Lakes, as far west as

the territory of the Piankishaws or Miamies, whose eastern boundary was probably an irregular line, drawn through the valley of the Great Miami, (Shimeamee) and the Ottawah-se-pee or Maumee, river of Lake Erie. The Shawanese and the Delawares, it is believed, were occupants of a part of the fore-mentioned country, merely by sufferance of the Wyandots, whose right of dominion seemed never to have been called in question, excepting by the Mingoes or Five Nations. The Shawanese were originally powerful and always war-like. Kentucky received its name from them, in the course of their migrations between their former place of residence on the Suwanee river, adjacent to the southern sea-coast, and the territory of the Yendots in the North. The name (Kantuckee) is compounded from the Shawanese, and signifies a "land or place at the head of a river."

The chosen residence of the Wyandots, was at an early period, as it is now, on the waters of the Saun-dus-tee or Sandusky. Though greatly reduced in numbers, they have, perhaps, attained a higher degree of civilization, than any other tribe in the vicinity of the north-western Lakes. For the following specimen of the Wyandot language and for the greater part of the statements given above, we were indebted to the *Archæologia Americana*.

One, Scat.	It rains, Ina-un-du-se.
Two, Tin-dee.	Thunder, Heno.
Three, Shaight.	Lightning, Tim-men-di-quas.
Four, An-daght.	Earth, Umaitasagh.
Five, Wee-ish.	Deer, Ough-scan-oto.
Six Wau-shau.	Bear, Anu-e.
Seven, Soo-tare.	Raccoon, Ha-in-te-roh.
Eight, Aultarai.	Fox, The-na-in-ton-to.
Nine, Ain-tru.	Beaver, Soo-taie.
Ten, Augh-sagh.	Mink, So-hoh-main-dia.
Twenty, Ten-deit-a-waugh-sa.	Turkey, Daigh-ton-tah.
Thirty, Shaigh-ka-waugh-sa.	Squirrel, Ogh-ta-eh.
Forty, An-daugh-ka-waugh-sa.	Otter, Ta-wen-deh.
Fifty, Wee-ish-a-waugh-sa.	Dog, Yun-ye-noh.
Sixty, Wau-shau-waugh-sa.	Cow, Kni-ton-squa-ront.
Seventy, Soo-tare-waugh-sa.	Horse, Ugh-shut te.
Eighty, Au-tarai-waugh-sa.	Goose, Yah-houunk.
Ninety, Ain-tru-waugh-sa.	Duck, Yu-in-geh.
One Hundred, Scute-main-gar-we.	Man, Ain-ga-hon.

God, Ta-main-de-zue.	Woman, Uteh-ke.
Devil, Degh-shu-re-noh.	Girl, Ya-weet-sen-tho.
Heaven, Ya-roh-nia.	Boy, Oma-int-sent-e-hah.
Good, Ye-waugh-ste.	Child, Che-ah-hah.
Bad, Waugh-she.	Old Man, Ha-o-tong.
Hell, Degh-shunt.	Old Woman, Ut-sin-dag-sa.
Sun, Ya-an-des-hra.	My wife, Uzut-tun-oh-oh.
Moon, Waugh,sunt-yu-an-des-ra.	Corn, Nay-hah.
Stars, Tegh-shu.	Beans, Yah-re-sah.
Sky, Cagh-ro-niate.	Potatoes, Da-ween-dah.
Clouds, Oght-se-rah.	Melons, Oh-nugh-sa.
Wind, Izu,quas.	Grass, E-ru-ta.

The foregoing sketch of the history and language of the Wyandots, though certainly not strictly necessary, will, it is hoped, be deemed not altogether inappropriate as an introduction to the following narrative of the circumstances attending the death of a chief of that nation. The particulars have been recently communicated by persons who were eye-witnesses to the execution, and may be relied upon as perfectly accurate.

In the evening of the first day of June in the year 1810, there came six Wyandot warriors to the house of Mr. Benjamin Sells on the Scioto River, about twelve miles above the spot where now stands the City of Columbus. They were equipped in the most war-like manner and exhibited during their stay, an unusual degree of agitation. Having ascertained that an old Wyandot Chief, for whom they had been making diligent inquiry was then encamped at a distance of about two miles farther up on the bank of the river, they expressed a determination to put him to death and immediately went off, in the direction of the lodge.

These facts were communicated early in the ensuing morning, to Mr. John Sells, who now resides in the City of Dublin on the Scioto about two miles from the place where the doomed Wyandot met his fate. Mr. Sells immediately proceeded up the river on horse-back in quest of the Indians. He soon arrived at the lodge which he found situated in a grove of sugar trees, close to the bend of the river. The six warriors were seated, in consultation at a distance of a few rods from the lodge. The old chief was with them, evidently in the character of a prisoner.

His arms were confined by a small cord, but he sat with them without any manifestation of uneasiness. A few of the neighboring white men were also there and a gloomy looking Indian who had been a companion of the Chief, but now kept entirely aloof, — sitting sullenly in the camp. Mr. Sells approached the Indians and found them earnestly engaged in debate. A charge of "witch-craft" had been made at a former time against the chief by some of his captors, whose friends had been destroyed as they believed by means of his evil powers. This crime, according to the immemorial usage of the tribe involved a forfeiture of life. The chances of a hunter's life had brought the old man to his present location, and his pursuers had sought him out in order that they might execute upon him the sentence of their law.

The council was of two or three hours duration. The accusing party spoke alternately with much ceremony, but with evident bitterness of feeling. The prisoner, in his replies, was eloquent, though dispassionate. Occasionally, a smile of scorn would appear, for an instant, on his countenance. At the close of the consultation it was ascertained that they had affirmed the sentence of death which had before been passed upon the chief. Inquiry having been made by some of the white men, with reference to their arrangements, the captain of the six warriors pointed to the sun and signified to them that the execution would take place at one o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Sells went to the captain and asked him what the chief had done. "Very bad Indian," he replied, "make good Indian sick"—"make horse sick, — make die, — very bad chief." Mr. Sells then made an effort to persuade his white friends to rescue the victim of superstition from his impending fate, but to no purpose. They were then in a frontier situation, entirely open to the incursions of the northern tribes and were, consequently unwilling to subject themselves to the displeasure of their savage visitors by any interference with their operations. He then proposed to release the chief by purchase—offering to the captain for that purpose a fine horse of the value of \$300. "Let me sec him," said the Indian; the horse was accordingly brought forth, and closely examined; and so much were they staggered by this proposition that they again

repaired to their place of consultation and remained in council a considerable length of time before it was finally rejected.

The conference was again terminated and five of the Indians began to amuse themselves with running, jumping and other athletic exercise. The captain took no part with them. When again inquired of, as to the time of execution, he pointed to the sun, as before, and indicated the hour of four. The prisoner then walked slowly to his camp, — partook of jerked venison — washed and arrayed himself in his best apparel and afterwards painted his face. His dress was very rich — his hair grey, his whole appearance graceful and commanding. At his request, the whole company drew around him at the lodge. He then observed the exertions of Mr. Sells in his behalf, and now presented to him a written paper, with a request that it might be read to the company. It was a recommendation signed by Gov. Hull and in compliance with the request of the prisoner, it was fixed and left upon the side of a large tree, at a short distance from the wigwam.

The hour of execution being close at hand, the chief shook hands in silence with the surrounding spectators. On coming to Mr. Sells he appeared much moved, — grasped his hands warmly, spoke for a few minutes in the Wyandot language and pointed to the Heavens. He then turned from the wigwam, and with a voice of surpassing strength and melody, commenced the chant of the death-song. He was followed closely by the Wyandot warriors, all timing with the slow and measured march, the music of his wild and melancholy dirge. The white men were all, likewise, silent followers in that strange procession. At the distance of seventy or eighty yards from the camp, they came to a shallow grave, which, unknown to the white men, had been previously prepared by the Indians. Here the old man knelt down, and in an elevated, but solemn voice, addressed his prayer to the Great Spirit. As soon as he had finished, the captain of the Indians knelt beside him and prayed in a similar manner. Their prayers, of course, were spoken in the Wyandot language. When they arose, the captain was again accosted by Mr. Sells, who insisted that if they were inflexible in their determination to shed blood, they should at least remove their victim beyond the

limit of the white settlement. "No!" said he, very sternly, and with evident displeasure, "No; good Indian fraid,— he no go with this bad man — mouth give fire in the dark night, good Indian fraid — he no go!" "My friend," he continued, "me tell you white man, bad man, white man kill him, Indian say nothing."

Finding all interference futile, Mr. Sells was at length compelled reluctantly, to abandon the old man to his fate. After a few moments delay, he again sank down upon his knees and prayed, as he had done before. When he had ceased praying, he still continued in a kneeling position. All the rifles belonging to the party had been left at the wigwam. There was not a weapon of any kind to be seen at the place of execution, and the spectators were consequently unable to form any conjecture as to the mode of procedure, which the executioners had determined on for the fulfilment of their purpose. Suddenly one of the warriors drew from beneath the skirts of his capote, a keen, bright tomahawk, walked rapidly up behind the chieftain brandishing the weapon on high for a single moment and then struck with his full strength. The blow descended directly upon the crown of the head and the victim immediately fell prostrate. After he had lain a while in the agonies of death, the Indian directed the attention of the white men to the drops of sweat which were gathering upon the neck and face; remarking with much apparent exultation that it was conclusive proof of the sufferer's guilt. Again the executioner advanced and with the same weapon inflicted two or three additional and heavy blows.

As soon as life was entirely extinct, the body was hastily buried with all its apparel and decorations and the assemblage dispersed. The Wyandots returned immediately to their hunting ground and the white men to their homes. The murdered chief was known among the whites by the name of Leather Lips. Around the spot where the bones repose the towering forest has given place to the grain fields and the soil above him has for years been furrowed and re-furrowed by the plow-share.

ANCIENT WORKS AT MARIETTA, OHIO.

BY J. P. MACLEAN, PH. D.

The ancient earthworks at Marietta, Ohio, have received much attention, and have been written about more than any of the prehistoric remains of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. These structures were great and ranked high in importance, although not so extensive and complicated as certain other remains which have been fully considered. At the time of the opening of the great West the Ohio river was the main artery that led into the wilderness, and hence the Marietta antiquities invited early notice; but the first to be recorded were those at Circleville. Rev. David Jones, of Freehold, New Jersey, in 1772-3, spent some time among the western Indians, and in his journal makes mention of some of the works on the Scioto. On October 17, 1772, he made a plan and computation of the works at Circleville.

The company of settlers, organized by Gen. Rufus Putnam, arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum April 7, 1788, and then took possession of the land purchased of the United States Government. The Directors of the company, appreciating the importance of the ancient remains, took immediate measures for their preservation. One of their earliest official acts was the passage of a resolution, which they caused to be entered upon the journal of their proceedings, reserving the two truncated pyramids and the great conical mound, with a few acres attached to each, as public squares. The great avenue, named "Sacra Via," by special resolution was "never to be disturbed or defaced, as common ground, not to be enclosed." These works were placed under the care of the corporation of Marietta, with the direction that they should be embellished with shade trees of native growth, the varieties of which being specified.

It is of no credit to the people of Marietta to examine into the cause of their falseness to their trust. When I visited these works in 1882, I found the truncated pyramids denuded and the walls of the Sacra Via gone. On inquiring what had become

of these walls I was informed that the material had been moulded into brick; that a brick-maker had been elected a member of the town council, and he had persuaded the other members to vote to sell him the walls. This unpleasant fact has also been reported by Prof. Wright. Quite a voluminous report of the Centennial Celebration of Marietta is given in volume II, *OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY*, replete with oratory and glorification, but no word concerning what has really made Marietta known. The editor of the *QUARTERLY*, more considerate, accompanies the account with a cut of the remains, taken



MOUND IN MOUND CEMETERY, MARIETTA.

from Squier & Davis' "Ancient Monuments," and an original picture of the conical mound in the cemetery.

With but little exaggeration it may be stated the antiquities at Marietta are principally obliterated. What few remain do not exhibit the value of what existed at the time the Ohio Company took possession. For all archæological purposes we must depend on the integrity of those who made surveys and plans of the works when they were practically complete. Fortunately we are not at a loss in this matter. The works were of sufficient note, not only to call the attention of military men and travellers, but also to excite the curiosity of the intelligent in the older states. The descriptions and plans of these early observers have

been preserved. The changes that have taken place in the condition of these structures, and the variations noted by the different observers, all point to value in summing up the evidence. When the works were denuded of their trees and the iconoclastic hand of the white man protruded itself, the change in the appearance of the remains must have been very rapid.

EARLY NOTICES.

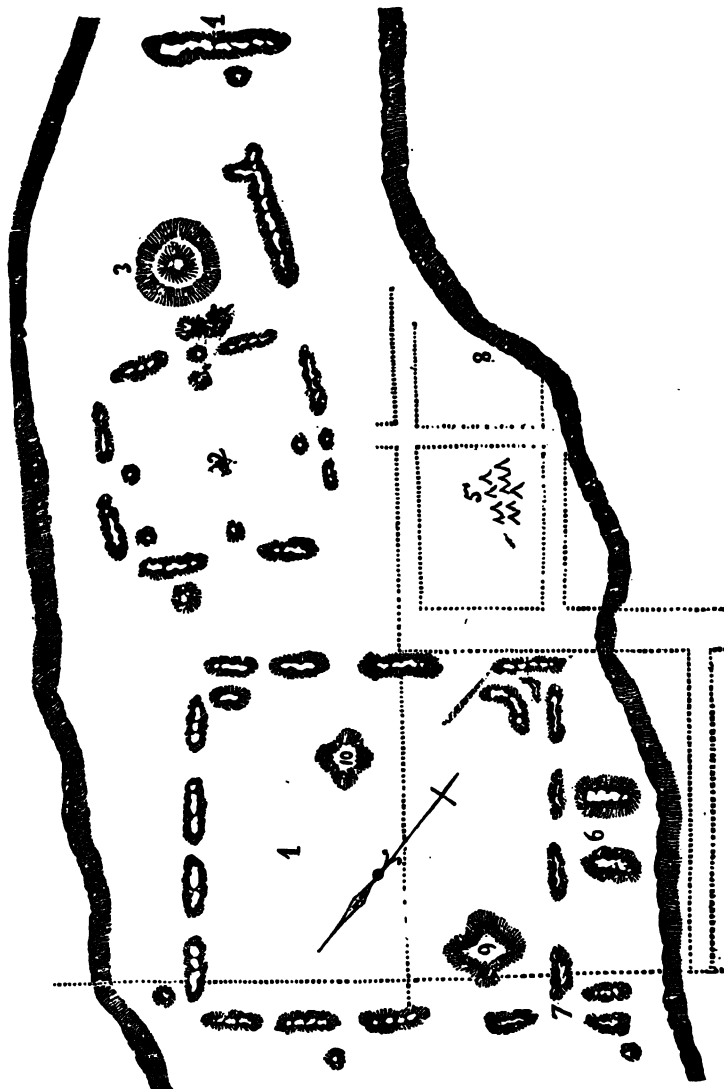
In all probability the first of the ancient earthworks west of the Alleghanies that were carefully surveyed were those under consideration. During the years 1785 and 1786 many letters from army officers found their way into the public prints giving an account of these remains, some of which were highly exaggerated. It was due to Gen. Samuel H. Parsons, that an authentic character should be given to the reports. In a letter addressed to President Willard, of Harvard College, dated October 2, 1786, he described the Grave Creek mound — Moundsville, W. Va. — and referred to the remains at Marietta, a description of which he had sent previously to President Stiles, of New Haven.

The first plan and description of the works have been ascribed to Capt. Jonathan Heart. General Harmar, in a letter dated Fort Pitt, March 17, 1787, to General Thomas Mifflin, of Philadelphia, says: "Be pleased to view the inclosed plan of the remains of some ancient works on the Muskingum, taken by a captain of mine (Heart), with his explanations. Various are the conjectures concerning these fortifications. From their regularity I conceive them to be the works of some civilized people. Who they were I know not. Certain it is, the present race of savages are strangers to anything of the kind." *

Daniel Stebbens states,† under date of Northampton, Mass., May 1842, that the drawing sent to Dr. Stiles, was copied by him, to be preserved in the archives of Yale College. In his letter he explains the drawing. "No. 1, Town. No. 2, The Fort. No. 3, The Great Mound and Ditch. No. 4, The Advance Work. No. 5, Indian Graves. No. 6, Covered Way from the town to the then locality of the river, which is supposed at that time to

* Butterfield's *Journal of Captain Jonathan Heart*, p XIII.

† *American Pioneer*, Vol I, p. 339.



II. FIRST PLAN OF EARTHWORKS.

have run along the edge of the second bottom. These walls are now twenty feet high, and the graded road between them was one hundred feet wide, and beautifully rounded like a modern turnpike. No. 7, A Second Covered Way with walls of less elevation. No. 8, Caves. Nos. 9 and 10, Elevated Squares. These works were interspersed with many small mounds as represented in the drawings."

The *Columbian Magazine*, for May 1789, contains Capt. Heart's plan with an elaborate description.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 22, 1788, contains a letter from a gentleman at Marietta, to his friend in Massachusetts, dated September 8, 1788, from which the following is extracted: "An accurate survey of the ancient ruins within the limits of our city has been made in presence of the governor, judges, directors of the company, and a number of other gentlemen, that we may be able to ascertain all the facts respecting them; in the course of this survey we had several of the large trees, on the parapet of those works, cut down, and have examined their ages by the rings of grains from the heart to the surface, computing each grain to be one year's growth. We found one tree to have stood 443 years, another 289, situated so as to leave no room to doubt of their having began to grow since those works were abandoned. We find the perpendicular height of the walls of this covert to be at this time twenty feet and the base thirty-nine, the width twelve rods."‡

In the third volume of the *American Philosophical Society*, appears Captain Heart's replies to inquiries, which he wrote in January 1791. In this paper he treats the subject in a judicious manner observing "that the state of the works and the trees growing on them indicated an origin prior to the discovery of America by Columbus; that they were not due to the present Indians or their predecessors, or some tradition would have remained of their uses; that they were not constructed by a people who procured the necessaries of life by hunting, as a sufficient number to carry on such labors could not have subsisted in that way; and, lastly, that the people who constructed them were not altogether in an uncivilized state, as they must have been under the

* *Journal and Letters of Colonel John May*, p. 58.

subordination of law, with a strict and well-governed police, or they could not have been kept together in such numerous bodies, and been made to contribute to the execution of such stupendous works."*

It was most unfortunate that two such intelligent observers as Gen. Parsons and Capt. Heart should meet with death so soon after their interest in western antiquities had been awakened. The former was drowned in the Ohio river in December 1791, and the latter was slain in the disastrous defeat of St. Clair, in November 1791, while, with a handful of men, he was covering the retreat of the army.

Col. Winthrop Sargent, in March, 1787, wrote a more elaborate and finished sketch than that of Capt. Heart, and sent it to Governor Bowdoin, which was not published until 1853, when it appeared in "Memoirs American Academy of Arts and Sciences."

DESCRIPTION BY HARRIS.

In the year 1803, Rev. Dr. Thaddeus M. Harris, of Massachusetts, examined some of the ancient structures, and published his "Journal of a Tour" in 1805. The following is the oft repeated description taken from his book (Page 149): "The situation of these works is on an elevated plain, above the present bank of the Muskingum, on the east side, and about half a mile from its junction with the Ohio. They consist of walls and mounds of earth, in direct lines, and in square and circular forms.

The largest square fort, by some called the town, contains forty acres, encompassed by a wall of earth, from six to ten feet high, and from twenty-five to thirty-six in breadth at the base. On each side are three openings, at equal distances, resembling twelve gateways. The entrances at the middle, are the largest, particularly on the side next to the Muskingum. From this outlet is a covert way, formed of two parallel walls of earth, two hundred and thirty-one feet distant from each other, measuring from center to center. The walls at the most elevated part, on the inside, are twenty-one feet in height, and forty-two in breadth at the base, but on the outside average only five feet in height.

* Haven's *Archaeology of the United States*, p. 24.

This forms a passage of about three hundred and sixty feet in length, leading by a gradual descent to the low grounds, where at the time of its construction, it probably reached the river. Its walls commence at sixty feet from the ramparts of the fort, and increase in elevation as the way descends towards the river; and the bottom is crowned in the center, in the manner of a well founded turnpike road.

Within the walls of the fort, at the northwest corner, is an oblong elevated square, one hundred and eighty-eight feet long, one hundred and thirty-two broad, and nine feet high; level on the summit, and nearly perpendicular at the sides. At the center of each of the sides, the earth is projected, forming gradual ascents to the top, equally regular, and about six feet in width. Near the south wall is another elevated square, one hundred and fifty feet by one hundred and twenty, and eight feet high, similar to the other, excepting that instead of an ascent to go up on the side next to the wall, there is a hollow way ten feet wide, leading twenty feet towards the center, and then rising with a gradual slope to the top. At the southeast corner, is a third elevated square, one hundred and eight, by fifty-four feet, with ascents at the ends, but not so high nor perfect as the two others. A little to the southwest of the center of the fort is a circular mound, about thirty feet in diameter and five feet high, near which are four small excavations at equal distances, and opposite each other. At the southwest corner of the fort is a semicircular parapet, crowned with a mound, which guards the opening in the wall. Towards the southeast is a smaller fort, containing twenty acres, with a gateway in the center of each side and at each corner. These gateways are defended by circular mounds.

On the outside of the smaller fort is a mound, in form of a sugar loaf, of a magnitude and height which strikes the beholder with astonishment. Its base is a regular circle, one hundred and fifteen feet in diameter; its perpendicular altitude is thirty feet. It is surrounded by a ditch four feet deep and fifteen feet wide, and defended by a parapet four feet high, through which is a gateway towards the fort, twenty feet in width. There are other walls, mounds, and excavations, less conspicuous and entire."

Mr. Harris adopted from Clavigero his account of the emigration of the Toltecs, and to them ascribed the construction of all similar works, and maintained that the mural works had been surmounted by palisades, intended for protection in the gradual progress made by these people through the territories of less civilized tribes.

OPINIONS OF JAMES MADISON.

At the same time Mr. Harris was engaged in making his observations on one side of the Ohio river, on the other, James Madison, then episcopal bishop of Virginia, was likewise entertaining himself. The result of his observations he communicated in a letter which was read before the Philosophical Society, and subsequently appeared in one of its volumes. It appeared to Bishop Madison that such remains were too numerous and various in form, besides being too unfavorably situated to be regarded as places of defence; and their striking figures indicated one common origin and destination. He regarded the mounds as burial places.

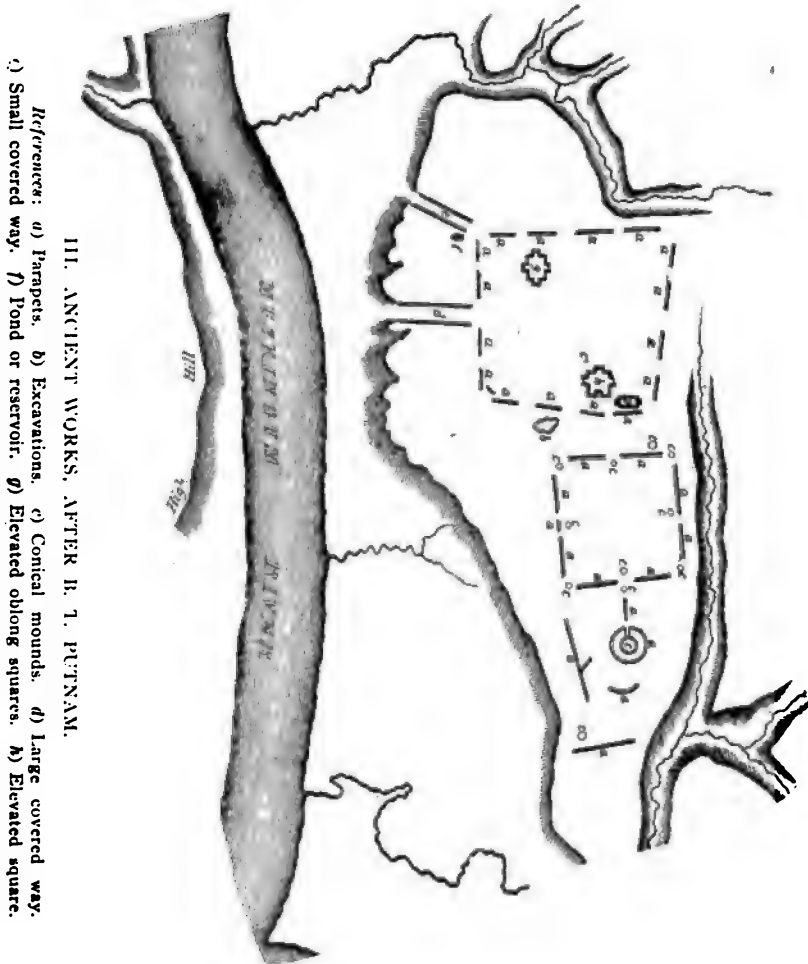
ATWATER'S SURVEY.

At the request of the President of the American Antiquarian Society, and by him assisted with pecuniary means, Caleb Atwater undertook to prepare a comprehensive account of the antiquities of the Western States. This contribution was published by the society in 1820, and comprises 164 pages of Vol. I. of its Transactions. Seven pages are devoted to the Marietta works. The text is accompanied by a plan taken from a survey made by B. P. Putnam.

The contribution, with accompanying plates, was republished by the author, in 1833, together with his *Tour to Prairie Du Chien*, under the title of "*Western Antiquities*." A reduced plan of the work is given in Howe's "*Historical Collections of Ohio*." The account given by Atwater is drawn from descriptions written by Dr. Hildreth and Gen. Edward W. Tupper. He quotes *in extenso* from Harris's "*Tour*." He concludes his narrative in the following language:

"It is worthy of remark, that the walls and mounds were not thrown up from ditches, but raised by bringing the earth from a

distance, or taking it up uniformly from the plain; resembling in that respect, most of the ancient works at Licking, already described. It has excited some surprise that the tools have not been discovered here, with which these mounds were constructed. Those who have examined these ruins, seem not to have been aware, that with shovels made of wood, earth enough to have constructed these works might have been taken from the sur-



III. ANCIENT WORKS, AFTER H. T. PUTNAM.

References: a) Parapets. b) Excavations. c) Conical mounds. d) Large covered way. e) Small covered way. f) Pond or reservoir. g) Elevated oblong squares. h) Elevated square.

face, with as much ease, almost, as if they were made of iron. This will not be as well understood on the east as the west side of the Alleghanies; but those who are acquainted with the great depth and looseness of our vegetable mould, which lies on the surface of the earth, and of course, the ease with which it may be raised by wooden tools, will cease to be astonished at what would be an immense labor in what geologists call 'primitive' countries. Besides, had the people who raised these works, been in possession of, and used ever so many tools, manufactured from iron, by lying either on or under the earth, during that long period which has intervened between their authors and us, they would have long since oxydized by rusting, and left but faint traces of their existence behind them."

Under the genius of Atwater a highly creditable and authentic representation of the ancient structures and other objects of interest and curiosity was systematically connected. Some of the structures he believed to have been fortifications; others sacred enclosures, such as mounds of sacrifice, or sites of temples; other mounds were for burial, and some places were for diversion. The accuracy of the regular works, which enclose large areas, is adduced as proof of scientific ability, and that the gradual development of the works would indicate that the strain of migration was toward the south. The growth of generations of forest trees over the remains, and the changes in the courses and bends of the streams on whose banks the ancient works are located are given as evidence of antiquity.

OBSERVATIONS OF SAMUEL P. HILDRETH.

Dr. Hildreth's "Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley" and "Biographical and Historical Memories of the early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio," will long remain standard works. For upwards of forty years he was a constant contributor to scientific journals. While he published no book on western antiquities, yet he wrote fully on the works at Marietta, all the details of which were perfectly familiar to him, as well as all that had been written on the subject. He was very much interested in those at Marietta, besides being well informed on the general subject.

What he has written is worthy of candid consideration. In a letter sent to Caleb Atwater, and dated June 8, 1819 he says:

"Mr. Harris, in his 'Tour,' has given a tolerably good account of the present appearance of the works, as to height, shape and form. The principal excavation or well, is as much as sixty feet in diameter, at the surface; and when the settlement was first made, it was at least twenty feet deep. It is at present twelve or fourteen feet; but has been filled up a great deal from the washing of the sides by frequent rains. It was originally of the kind formed in the most early days, when the water was brought up by hand in pitchers, or other vessels, by steps formed in the sides of the well.

The pond, or reservoir, near the northwest corner of the large fort, was about twenty-five feet in diameter, and the sides raised above the level of the adjoining surface by an embankment of earth three or four feet high. This was nearly full of water at the first settlement of the town, and remained so until the last winter, at all seasons of the year. When the ground was cleared near the well, a great many logs that laid nigh, were rolled into it, to save the trouble of piling and burning them. These, with the annual deposit of leaves, etc., for ages, had filled the well nearly full; but still the water rose to the surface, and had the appearance of a stagnant pool. In early times poles and rails have been pushed down into the water, and deposit of rotten vegetables, to the depth of thirty feet. Last winter the person who owns the well undertook to drain it, by cutting a ditch from the well into the *small 'covert-way,'* and he has dug to the depth of about twelve feet, and let the water off to that distance. He finds the sides of the reservoir not perpendicular, but projecting gradually towards the center of the well, in the form of an inverted cone. The bottom and sides, so far as he has examined, are lined with a stratum of very fine, ash colored clay, about eight or ten inches thick; below which, is the common soil of the place, and above it, this vast body of decayed vegetation. The proprietor calculates to take from it several hundred loads of excellent manure, and to continue to work at it, until he has satisfied his curiosity, as to the depth and contents of the well. If

it was actually a well, it probably contains many curious articles, which belonged to the ancient inhabitants.

On the outside of the parapet, near the *oblong square*, I picked up a considerable number of fragments of ancient potters' ware. This ware is ornamented with lines, some of them quite curious and ingenious, on the outside. It is composed of clay and fine gravel and has a partial glazing on the inside. It seems to have been burnt, and capable of holding liquids. The fragments, on breaking them, look quite black, with brilliant particles, appearing as you hold them to the light. The ware which I have seen, found near the rivers, is composed of shells and clay, and not near so hard as this found on the plain. It is a little curious, that of twenty or thirty pieces which I picked up, nearly all of them were found on the outside of the parapet, as if they had been thrown over the wall purposely. This is, in my mind, strong presumptive evidence, that the parapet was crowned with a palisade. The chance of finding them on the inside of the parapet, was equally good, as the earth had been recently ploughed, and planted with corn. Several pieces of copper have been found in and near to the ancient mounds, at various times. One piece, from the description I had of it, was in the form of a cup with low sides, the bottom very thick and strong. The small mounds in this neighborhood have been but slightly, if at all examined.

The avenues or places of ascent on the sides of the elevated squares are ten feet wide, instead of six, as stated by Mr. Harris. His description as to height and dimensions, are otherwise correct"*

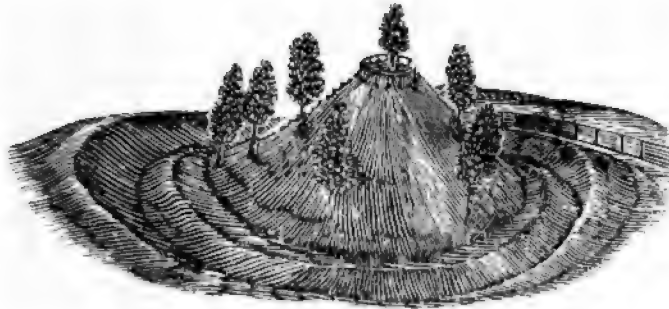
In the "American Pioneer," for Oct. 1842, (Vol. I. p. 340), Dr. Hildreth has the following extended notice of the conical mound:

"The object of the present article is not to describe the whole of these works, but only 'the mound,' which beautiful structure is considered the pride and ornament of Marietta.

The venerable and worthy men, who were the directors of the Ohio company, and superintended the platting of the city of Marietta, viewing with admiration this beautiful specimen of the

* *Archaeologia Americana*. Vol. I, p 137, also *Western Antiquities*, p. 39.

arts amongst the ancient proprietors of this region, reserved a square of six acres around this mound, and appropriated it to the use of a burying ground, thus giving a hallowed aspect to that spot, and preserving it from the violation of private individuals. It yet remains in all its pristine beauty, a monument of the industry and arts of the ancient inhabitants of the valley, and a lasting memento of the classic taste of the directors of the Ohio company. Every provision was made that could be, for the protection of the two elevated squares, or truncated pyramids, about half a mile northwest of the mound, by appropriating three acres around each of them as public squares, and placing them under the authority of the future mayor and corporation of the city.



IV. GREAT CONICAL MOUND.

They also remain uninjured: while some of the parapets of the ancient fort and city have been dug away in grading the streets, and in some instances by individuals, where they fell within their inclosures; but to the credit of the inhabitants, it may be said, that the old works have been generally preserved with more care, than in any other towns in Ohio. 'The mound,' a drawing of which accompanies this article, was, when first measured, fifty years since, about thirty feet in height; it is now only about twenty-eight feet. It measures one hundred and thirty yards around the base, and should be one hundred and thirty feet in diameter. It terminates not in a regular apex, but is flat on the top, measuring twenty feet across it. The shape is very regular, being that of a cone, whose sides rise at an angle of forty-five degrees. It stands in the center of a level area, which is sixty-

six yards in diameter. This is surrounded by a ditch one hundred and ninety-seven yards in circumference; it is now about four feet deep, and ten feet wide at the top, sloping evenly and regularly from the top of the parapet, and inner edge of the ditch to the bottom. Outside the ditch is a wall of earth, being apparently that thrown out of the ditch, and elevated about four feet above the adjacent surface of the earth. The parapet is two hundred and thirty-four yards in circumference. On the north side is an avenue, or opening of fifteen feet in width, through the parapet, across which no ditch is dug. A few rods north, in a line with the gateway or opening, are three low mounds; the nearest is oblong or elliptical, sixty feet in length, and about twenty in width, with an elevation of six or eight feet in the centre, tapering gradually to the sides. These mounds communicate with the fort, as seen in the old plan.* The parapet, ditch, circular area, and mound itself, are now covered with a vivid and splendid coat of green sward of native grasses, which protects them from the wash of the rain. There are several beautiful oaks growing on the sides of the mound. When first noticed by the settlers, it was covered with large forest trees, seven of them four feet in diameter. A few years since, sheep were allowed to pasture in the cemetery grounds. In their repeated and frequent ascents of the ground, they had worn paths in its sides, down which the wintry rains taking their course, cut deep channels, threatening in a few years to ruin the beauty of the venerable structure, if not to destroy it entirely. Some of the more intelligent inhabitants of Marietta, observing its precarious state, set on foot a subscription for its repair, and for building a new fence, and ornamenting the grounds with shade trees. Four hundred dollars were raised by subscription, and four hundred were given by the corporation, and a very intelligent man appointed to superintend the work. Three hundred dollars went to the mound, and five hundred to the fencing, planting trees, and opening walks, etc. Inclined planes of boards were erected, on which to elevate the earth in wheel-barrows. At this day it would require a sum of not less than two thousand dollars to erect a similar mound of earth. At the same time a flight of

* Reference here is made to Figure 2.

forty-six stone steps, was made on the north side, making an easy ascent to the top. A circular seat of planks is built on the summit, protected in the outer edge by locust posts, with iron chains from post to post. The scene from this elevation is one of the finest in the country, commanding a prospect of eight or nine miles up and down the Ohio river, with a broad range over the hilly region which skirts the Muskingum. No examination has been made by digging, to discover the contents of this mound,



V. GREAT TRUNCATED PYRAMID.

with the exception of a slight excavation into the top, many years ago, when the bones of two or three human skeletons were found. The public mind is strongly opposed to any violation, or disfiguring the original form of this beautiful structure, as well as of the old works generally. Several curious ornaments of stone and copper have been brought up at various times in digging graves in the adjacent grounds.

From the precaution taken to surround this mound with a ditch and parapet which was probably crowned also with palisades, it has been suggested that it was a place of sacrifice, and the de-

fenses for the purpose of keeping off the common people, while the priests were engaged in their sacred offices."

The last article taken from Dr. Hildreth appeared in the "American Pioneer" for June, 1843 (vol. II, No. VI), and treats of the mounds: "PYRAMIDS AT MARIETTA. — This beautiful specimen (see Fig. 5) of the skill and good taste of that ancient race of inhabitants who once peopled the rich bottoms and hillsides of the valley of the Ohio, stands on the western border of that high sandy plain which overlooks the Muskingum river, about one mile from its mouth. The elevation of this plain is from eighty to one hundred feet above the bed of the river, and from forty to sixty feet above the bottom lands of the Muskingum. It is about half a mile in width, by three-fourths of a mile in length, and terminates on the side next the river by a rather abrupt natural glacis, or slope, resting on the more recent alluvious or bottom lands. On the opposite side, it reclines against the base of the adjacent hills, except where it is cut off by a shallow ravine excavated by two small runs, or branches, which head near each other at the foot of the hills. On this plain are seated those ancient works so often mentioned by various writers. The main object of this article is to describe the two truncated pyramids, or elevated squares, as they are usually called. Since reading the travels of Mr. Stevens in Central America, and his descriptions of the ruins of Palenque and other ancient cities of that region, I have become satisfied in the belief, that these two truncated pyramids were erected for the purpose of sustaining temples or other public buildings. Those which he describes were generally constructed of stone, and the temples now standing on them are of the same material. He however saw some that were partly earth, and part stone. They are the work of a people further advanced in the arts than the race who erected the earthworks of Ohio; but that they were made by a people of similar habits and policy of government, there can be little doubt by anyone who has taken the trouble to compare the two. It may be objected that they are too distant from each other ever to have been built by the same race. Allowing that they were not of the same nation; yet similar wants, and similar habits of thinking, would probably lead to very similar results. But there can

be no reasonable objection to their being erected by a colony from Mexico, where the same works are found as in Central America. Neither is there any serious objection to their being the parent tribe of the Mexicans, driven away southerly by the more northern and warlike tribes; and these the structures which precede the more perfect one of stone. In Illinois there are similar earthen structures nearly one hundred feet high and three hundred in length.* Broad, elevated basements of this kind were no doubt intended for the support of public buildings or temples and must have been thrown up by the joint labor of the tribe for their general benefit.

While the structures of this character in the valley of the Mississippi were made of earth, and the superstructures or buildings which crowned them, of wood, those in Central America were built of stone, the imperishable nature of which has preserved them to this day. The wood has decayed and returned again to its parent earth hundreds of years since, while the clay on which the buildings rested, being also imperishable, remains to this day, bearing the outlines of the truncated pyramid in all its original beauty of form and proportion. The sides and top, where not covered with buildings, were probably protected from the action of rains and frosts by a thick coating of turf, which prevented the wasting action of these powerful agents of destruction. And when, in the course of after years, the primeval forest had again resumed its empire, that served as a further protection and preserved them in the state in which they were found by the first white inhabitants of this valley. Our own opinion is, that these earthworks of the valley of the Ohio, were more likely to have been built by the ancestors of the Mexicans, rather than by a colony from that country. One principal reason is, that if they proceeded from Mexico they would have left some relics of their labor in stone, as the Mexicans worked the hardest varieties with their indurated copper tools, with great neatness and facility. Nothing, however, of the kind has yet been discovered, unless the sculptured impressions of two human

* In all probability Dr. Hildreth refers here to the great Cahokia mound near East St. Louis, which is ninety feet high, seven hundred feet long and five hundred in breadth.

feet in the hard limerock near St. Louis be samples of their skill in the use of metallic implements. Further researches and careful analysis of known facts may yet throw more light on this dark subject. Dr. S. G. Morton, of Philadelphia, who has spent several years in examining the skulls of the aboriginal inhabitants of America, collected from the mounds and cemeteries from all parts of this continent, has come to the conclusion that the numerous tribes of dead and living Indians form but one race, and that race is peculiar to America. (Here follow several excerpts taken from Dr. Morton's paper delivered before the 'Boston Society of Natural History,' in April, 1843.*)

But to return to the description of the truncated pyramid, a figure of which stands at the head of this article. The spectator is standing on the top of one of the earthen parapets which form the walls of this 'ancient city,' within which the pyramid is situated. It is distant less than one hundred yards, northeasterly, from the opening of the 'via sacra,' or covered way, which leads down to the Muskingum river; a drawing and description of which also accompanies this article. The dimensions are as follows: The form is a parallelogram, one side of which is forty yards and the other sixty-five yards; the longer direction is southerly. The height is four yards, or twelve feet, above the adjacent surface of the plain; a regular glacis or avenue of ascent is thrown up on each side near the centre of the work; these are ten yards wide and eighteen yards long, rendering the ascent very easy. The foot of the south glacis terminates directly opposite the north wall of the 'via sacra,' which is about one hundred yards distant. The top of the pyramid is entirely level.

LESSER TRUNCATED PYRAMID: — This work is seated near the southeast corner of the 'ancient city,' distant about forty rods from the larger one. Its dimensions are as follows: Fifty yards long by forty-five yards wide; its height is eight feet above the surface of the plain. It has a glacis or avenue of ascent on three sides only, viz. the south, west, and east. Those on the west and east sides are not in the centre, but near to or only nine

* Dr. Hildreth contributed to crania taken from the mounds, in Morton's *Crania Americana*. See pp. 219, 220, and also from the caves, pp. 235-6. None from Marietta.

yards from the north side; that on the north side is near the centre. On the south side there is a recess or excavation in place of a glacis. It is sixteen yards long, and ten yards wide, and eight feet deep. This opening was probably covered by the building which stood on the pyramid, and formed a dark or secret chamber, in some way connected with their religious rites. The other three glacis are each ten yards wide and sixteen yards long. The whole is in fine preservation, and coated over with a nice turf of native grasses.

'VIA SACRA,' OR COVERED WAY. — This work, which exceeds all the others in magnitude of labor, is finely represented in the drawing. The observer is standing a little past the middle of the work towards the upper end of the way next to the truncated pyramid, and facing upon the Muskingum river, which runs at the foot of the little ridge between the trees figured on its banks. On the opposite shore are the Harmar hills. This road or way is two hundred yards long, and proceeds with a very gradual descent from near the western parapet walls of the city to the present bottom lands of the Muskingum. It is supposed that at the period of its construction the river ran near the termination of the road; but this is quite uncertain. It is fifty yards or one hundred and fifty feet in width, and finished with a regular crowning in the centre like a modern turnpike. The sides of this ancient 'Broadway' are protected by walls of earth rising in height as they approach the river, commencing with an elevation of eight feet and ending with eighteen feet on the inside; on the outside the wall is about seven feet above the adjacent surface in its whole length; the increased height within, as it approaches the river, being made by the depth of the excavation in digging away the margin of the elevated plain to the level of the Muskingum bottom lands. The average depth of the excavation in constructing this avenue, may be placed at ten feet, which will make one million of cubic yards of earth to be removed in constructing this grand way into the city. This earth was probably used, as we see no other source from which it could come so readily, in the erection of the larger truncated pyramid, and a portion of the adjacent walls of the 'fenced city.' But as this would consume but a small portion of the earth removed,



VI. LOWER PART OF VIA SACRA AS IT DESCENDS TO THE MUSKINGUM.

the balance was probably used in constructing a quay for the convenience of their boats. The earth from which the pyramid is made, was apparently not taken from the immediate vicinity, as there is no appearance of holes, or sunken spots, or vestiges of any earth being removed.

The transportation of this earth must have been an immense labor, as there is no probability that the inhabitants had any domestic animals to assist them in the work. The supposition is, that it was carried away in baskets on the shoulders of the men and women, a distance of one or two hundred yards, and placed where we now see it. This mode of removing earth is still practiced by several rude nations. The population of this ancient city must have been very considerable to have required so broad an avenue for their ingress and egress from its gates.

Traces of their hearths may yet be seen by digging away the earth in the inside of the parapets or walls, along the borders of which their dwellings would seem to have been erected. Numerous relics of copper and silver have been found in the cinders of these hearths. They are generally in the form of ornaments, rings of copper, or slender bars of copper that had been used as awls. In the mounds have been found several curious articles of metal. The bowl of a brass spoon is in the possession of the writer, taken from one of the parapets in the northwest corner of the old city, at the depth of six feet below the surface. Large quantities of broken earthenware was found when Marietta was first settled, lying on the surface, and especially in the bottom of an excavation called 'the well,' about one hundred yards from the lesser pyramid in a southerly direction. It was sixty or eighty feet wide at the top, narrowing gradually to the bottom like an inverted cone, to the depth of fifty feet. Numerous fragments of broken vessels were found here, as if destroyed in the act of procuring water from the well."

JOSIAH PRIEST'S "AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES."

The work of Josiah Priest, entitled "American Antiquities," originally published in 1833, is a sort of curiosity shop, made up of odds and ends of theories and statements pertaining to Amer-

ican antiquities. It is of value in this connection only as containing a plate of the Marietta works made from a survey by S. De Witt in 1822. (See Fig. 7).

WORK OF SQUIER AND DAVIS.

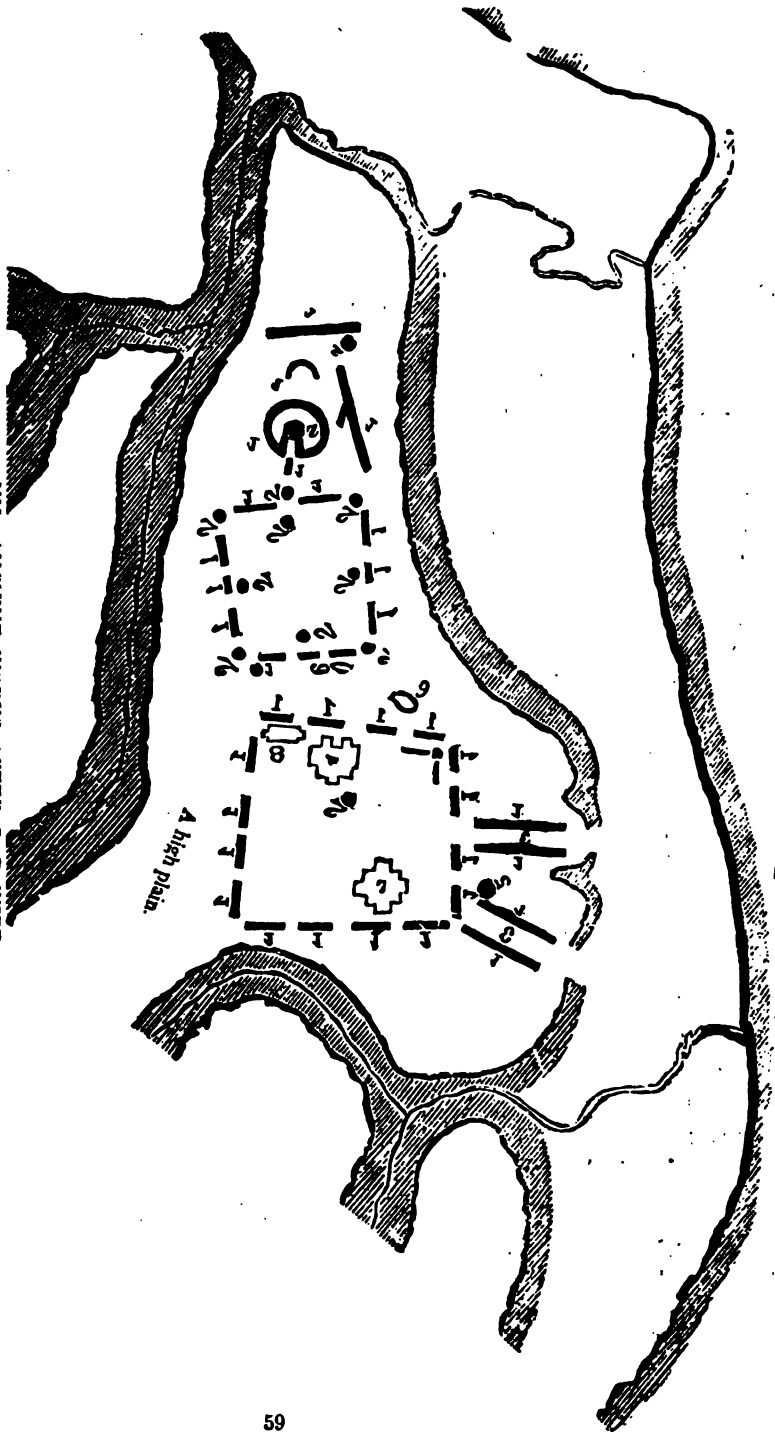
In the year 1848 "*Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*," by Squier and Davis, was published by the Smithsonian Institution. The result of this work was to promote a more active spirit of inquiry upon all questions connected with the ancient remains in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. In one form or another it has become the real basis of all books written on the subject since its advent. In short it is the one standard authority on the subject. Although it has been criticised and even assaulted, yet it has maintained its position while its detractors have either or else are passing into oblivion. Both men, who engaged in its compilation, were singularly fitted for the task they essayed to perform.

"*Ancient Monuments*" publishes a map (Plate XXVI.) of the Marietta works taken from the survey and plan made by Colonel Charles Whittlesey in 1837. At that time Colonel Whittlesey was topographical engineer of the state. The great ability, well known accuracy and integrity of the man will always make this survey the authoritative one, however meritorious the others may be. The plan of the works (Fig. 8.) is supplemented (Fig. 9) by cross and longitudinal sections which greatly enhance the value of the plate.

"*Ancient Monuments*" gives a view (Fig. 1) of the remains as they appeared just after the forest trees were cut away. This illustration has been made to do service in several different publications. A full page, colored illustration (Fig. 10) of the conical mound also appears in the contribution.

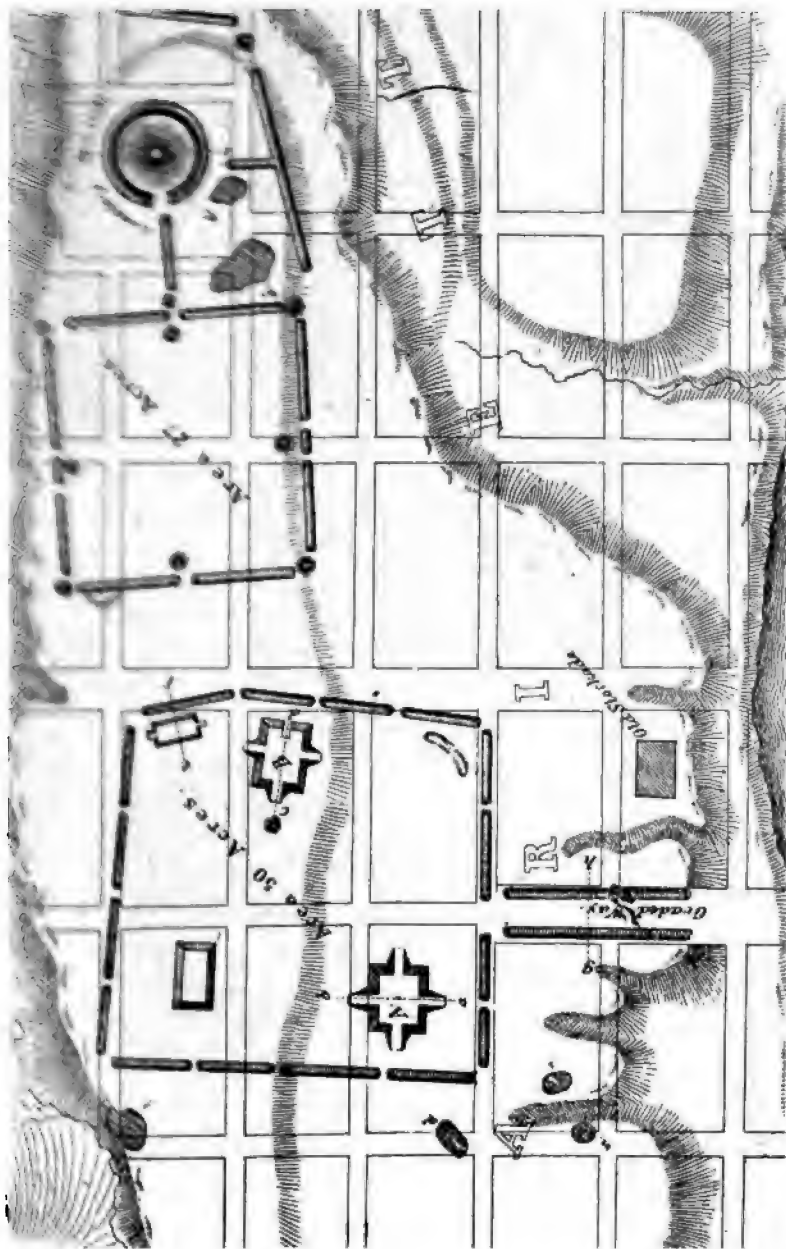
The account accompanying the plan embraces four and one-half pages. The description of the two truncated pyramids is taken from that of Dr. Hildreth which first appeared in the "*American Pioneer*," for June 1843, and as I have already given it, there is no necessity for its repetition.

"In the vicinity (of the conical mound) occur several fragmentary walls, as shown in the map. Excavations, or 'dug holes,'



VII. ANCIENT WORKS AFTER S. DEWITT.

Explanation: No. 1, everywhere, shows the walls of these works. No. 2, however, inclosed by a circle, represents a very large mound surrounded by a wall or ditch. No. 3 shows the remains of an ancient well. No. 4 shows two ponds, or excavations. No. 5 shows an elevated rectangular oblong square, 180 feet long, 30 broad and 9 high, level on the top. No. 6 shows a second octangular square, 150 by an 120 feet, and 8 high, with a subterranean way leading to its top. No. 7 shows a third elevated square, 150 feet by 64, not as high as the others. From actual survey.



VIII. ANCIENT WORKS, AFTER COL. CHAS. WHITTLESEY.

are observable at various points around these works. Near the great mound are several of considerable size. Those indicated by *m* and *n* in the plan have been regarded and described as *wells*. Their regularity and former depth are the only reasons adduced in support of this belief. The circumstance of regularity is not at all remarkable, and is a common feature in excavations manifestly made for the purpose of procuring material for the construction of mounds, etc. Their present depth is small, though it is represented to have been formerly much greater. There is some reason for believing that they were dug in order to procure clay for the construction of pottery and other purposes, inasmuch as a very fine variety of that material occurs at this point, some distance below the surface. The surface soil has recently been removed, and the manufacture of bricks commenced. The 'clay lining' which has been mentioned as characterizing these 'wells,' is easily accounted for, by the fact that they are sunk in a clay bank. Upon the opposite side of the Muskingum river are bold precipitous bluffs, several hundred feet in height. Along their brows are a number of small stone mounds. They command an extensive view, and overlook the entire plain upon which the works here described are situated.

Such are the principal facts connected with these interesting remains. The generally received opinion respecting them is, that they were erected for defensive purposes. Such was the belief of the late President Harrison, who visited them in person and whose opinion, in matters of this kind, is entitled to great weight. The reasons for this belief have never been presented, and they are not very obvious. The numbers and width of the gateways, the absence of a fosse, as well as the character of the enclosed and accompanying remains, present strong objections to the hypothesis which ascribes to them a warlike origin. And it may be here remarked, that the conjecture that the Muskingum ran at the base of the graded way already described, at the period of its erection, seems to have had its origin in the assumption of a military design in the entire group. Under this hypothesis, it was supposed that the way was designed to cover or secure access to the river, — an object which it would certainly not have required the construction of a passage-way one hundred and fifty

feet to effect. The elevated squares were never designed for military purposes,—their very regularity of structure forbids this conclusion. They were most likely erected as the sites for structures which have long since passed away, or for the celebration of unknown rites,—corresponding in short, in purpose as they do in form, with those which they so much resemble in Mexico and Central America. Do not these enclosed structures give us the clue to the purposes of the works with which they are connected? As heretofore remarked, the sacred grounds of almost every people are set apart or designated by enclosures of some kind. * * *

There are no other works in the immediate vicinity of Marietta. At Parkersburgh, Virginia, on the Ohio, twelve miles below, there is an enclosure of irregular form and considerable extent. There are also works at Belpre,* opposite Parkersburgh.

The valley of the Muskingum is for the most part narrow, affording few of those broad, level and fertile terraces, which appear to have been the especial favorites of the race of Mound-builders, and upon which most of their monuments are found. As a consequence, we find few remains of magnitude in that valley, until it assumes a different aspect, in the vicinity of Zanesville, ninety miles from its mouth."

The supplemental plan (Fig. 9) is of very great importance on account of the relative proportions of the works. The section marked *ε h* gives the Via Sacra, and *i u* the conical mound with accompanying wall.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

As heretofore remarked all books published since that by Squier & Davis, and which treat of the Marietta antiquities, are largely indebted to "Ancient Monuments." Some of these later publications are of value, while others use the descriptions to bolster up a theory. It is not the object here to give an

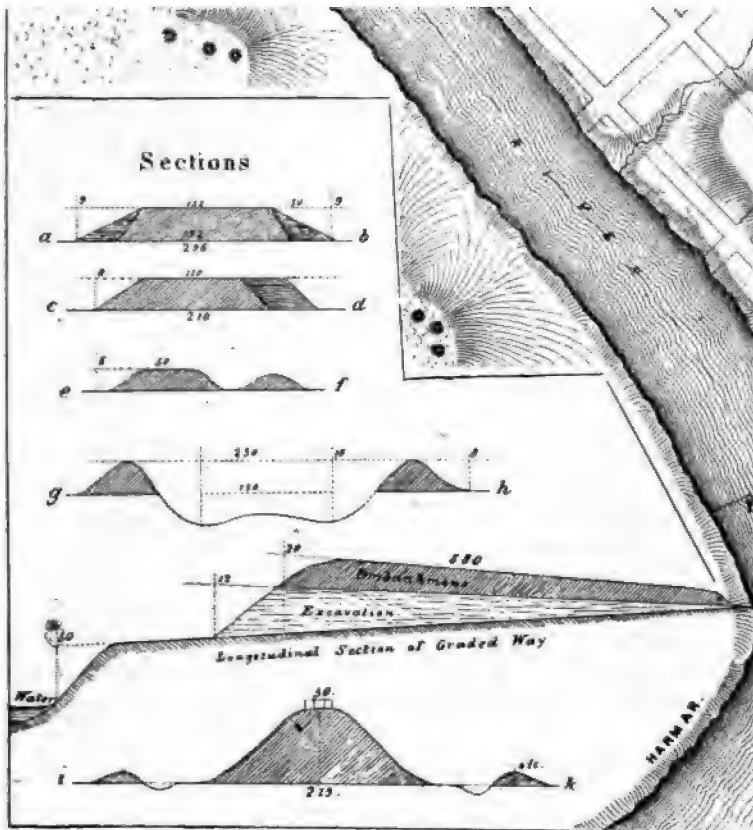
* In my paper on Blennerhassett's Island (Smithsonian Report for 1882, p. 767), I called attention to the miniature representation of the conical mound at Marietta, located on the plain of Belpre, opposite the isle, having the wall, interior ditch, and the elevated gateway leading from the mound to the gateway.

account of these more recent books, however interesting and important their contents may be.

SUMMARY.

With the mass of information now before us we learn the following:

At the junction of the Muskingum and Ohio Rivers is a high sandy plain, from eighty to one hundred feet above the bed of the river, and from forty to sixty above the bottom lands of



IX. SUPPLEMENTARY PLAN, AFTER COL. CHAS. WHITTLESEY.

the Muskingum, being about three-fourths of a mile long by half a mile in width.

Upon this plain, in 1785, and for many years afterwards, were located a series of ancient works, consisting of two irregular squares, containing respectively fifty and twenty-seven acres area, in connection with a graded way, truncated pyramids, sundry other mounds, exterior embankments, and large artificial wells or reservoirs.

The Graded Way, or Via Sacra, was exterior to and disconnected from the major square and was six hundred and eighty feet long and one hundred and fifty feet in width, the bottom of which was regularly finished by a crown form of construction. This ancient way was covered by exterior lines of embankment seven feet in height above the adjacent surface. The depth of the excavation near the square was eight feet, but gradually deepened towards the farther extremity where it reached eighteen feet on the interior,—the average depth of the avenue being about ten feet.

The largest of the truncated mounds was one hundred and twenty feet by one hundred and ninety-five feet, and twelve in height, while the second is one hundred and fifty feet long, by one hundred and thirty-five in breadth and eight in height. The conical mound, when first measured was thirty feet in height, with a diameter at the base of one hundred and thirty feet. This mound is surrounded by a ditch five hundred and ninety feet in circumference. On the exterior of this ditch was a wall four feet in height.

It will be noticed that in Fig. 8 Colonel Whittlesey gives a single embankment between the circle and the lesser square. I examined the structure in 1882 and noticed the double wall, with slight depression between them, as given in Fig. 10.

Partly enclosed by an exterior wall, the lesser square and the conical mound was a well fifty feet deep and between sixty and eighty feet in diameter at the top.

From the general study of these and other ancient remains of the Ohio valley, we may obtain the following results:

That it was the same race who built the mural structures and great mounds.

The extent of territory covered by this people prove them to have been very numerous.

X. GREAT CONICAL MOUND.



The people had arrived at a considerable degree of civilization and had made great progress in the arts.

The builders were skilled in the art of fortification and the construction of regular geometrical works.

The ancient remains show an antiquity long ante-dating the advent of the white man.

The crania, from the mounds, indicate that the people belonged to the great divisions, denominated by Cuvier, the "American Family." The ancient structures prove they were greatly removed from the wild tribes that inhabited the Ohio valley at the time of the discovery. There is not a scintilla of proof that the wild tribes descended from the Mound Builders, or *vice versa*.

The regular structures are usually classed as sacred enclosures. The graded avenues are only found in connection with such works. The object of the Via Sacra at Marietta must be left to our consideration of the Graded Way at Piketon, in Pike county, Ohio.

Franklin, O., Nov. 9th, 1902.

CLARK'S CONQUEST OF THE NORTHWEST.

BY E. O. RANDALL.

The French were the first to discover and explore the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys.



A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "G. Clark".

While the English were establishing colonial settlements between the Alleghany mountains and the Atlantic coast, the French adventurers were locating missionary stations, military posts and trading centers on the Great Lakes and the river ways of the Northwest. Such lodging places in the western wilderness were Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia and others. The English colonies in the east were permanent and progressive. The French lodgments in the west were thriftless and deteriorative. The English race thrives in colonization. The French stock is not adapted to transplantation. By the middle of the eighteenth century the English population in the New England colonies

was a million and two hundred thousand, while the French inhabitants of New France numbered but eighty thousand. For a century and a half these rival races, the Latin and the Teuton, had contended for the American possessions. That rivalry cul-

The material for this article was found mainly in "Clark's Letter to Mason;" "Joseph Bowman's Journal;" "Clark's Memoir;" and the unpublished manuscript of "Clark's Illinois Campaign," written by Consul Wilshire Butterfield. The writer has also freely availed himself of "The Conquest of the Northwest" by William H. English, and "The Winning of the West," by Theodore Roosevelt. The Butterfield manuscript is a most valuable and accurate account of the Illinois Campaign. It is now the property of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, which expects to publish the same at no distant day.—E. O. R.

minated in the dramatic battle between the forces of the intrepid Montcalm and the invincible Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham before Quebec. It was the decree of destiny that the Anglo-Saxon civilization should conquer, and by the treaty of Paris, 1763, the French empire in North America ceased to exist. The Northwest with its French stations became the property of England. But this vast domain was still to be forbidden ground to the American colonists. The British government preempted the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi and the Ohio and the Great Lakes, as the exclusive and peculiar reservation of the Crown. It was to be directly administered upon from the provincial seat of authority at Quebec. It was to remain intact and undisturbed for the continued abode of the Indians whom the British power thus proposed to propitiate and secure. Thus matters stood until Dunmore's War, the prelude to the Revolution, opened the Kentucky country to the Virginian settlers. The exclusion of the colonists from the Northwest was one of the causes of the revolt against the mother government. The fire of the Revolution swept the seaboard colonies. The Northwest was in the powerful and peaceful clutch of Great Britain. It was almost solely inhabited by the Indians and the few and far between French settlements, which had now become British garrisons and supply posts. It was not only the policy of England to hire Hessians to fight its battles on the colonial front, but also its more dastardly determination to subsidize the Savages of the West and bribe them to assault and massacre the colonial settlers on the western frontier. The commander of the British posts at the west and northwest spared no effort to instigate the Indian tribes against the Americans. They armed, sent forth and directed the hostile and merciless expeditions of the red men. It remained for some brave and sagacious colonial leader to comprehend the vast importance of checking and destroying this British power in the Northwest and conquering that territory for the colonial confederacy. The man to conceive that idea, plan and carry out its execution, was George Rogers Clark.

George Rogers Clark, deservedly called the "Washington of the West," was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, November 19, 1752. His birthplace was within two and a half miles of

that of Thomas Jefferson, who was nine years the elder of Clark, but through life his steadfast friend. Clark's schooling was that of the frontier boy, rude and slight, consisting mostly of mathematics and surveying, the subjects most useful to the backwoodsman. When but nineteen years of age he caught the "western fever," and from Fort Pitt went down the Ohio to the Kentucky country on an exploring and surveying tour. In 1774 he was with Dunmore's army in that famous expedition to the Shawnee villages on the Scioto. The subsequent year (1775) he spent mostly in the interior of Kentucky where he decided to locate, and among the settlers of which he became a recognized leader. It was at this time that the Henderson company undertook to establish a political organization in this section of Kentucky to be known as the state of Transylvania.*

This proposed new colonial state was, however, short lived. The people of Kentucky not in the "Transylvania state" did not favor it, and Virginia annulled the Henderson purchase and plan. All Kentucky at this time was still considered part of Fincastle county, Virginia, and the inhabitants thereof were unrepresented at the state capital. They desired representation, and in June 1776, a meeting of the settlers was held at Harrodstown, at which two delegates were chosen for the state legislature. These proposed members were George Rogers Clark and John Cabriel Jones. These delegates did not reach Wil-

*Richard Henderson, of North Carolina, with whom were associated Daniel Boone, James Harrod, and others, purchased of the Cherokee Indians for a few wagon loads of goods a great tract of land on the banks of the lower Kentucky river (Madison county, Ky.) Delegates, seventeen in all, from Boonesboro, Harrodsburg and two other settlements (Boiling Spring and St. Asaph) met at Boonesboro, May 23, 1775, and organized themselves into an assembly of a state, which they named Transylvania, desiring that it be added to the United Colonies. They endeavored to perfect a political organization with methods of election, taxation, courts, *et cetera*, and choose one James Hogg a delegate for Transylvania to the Continental Congress, then in session at Philadelphia. But the claim of Virginia to the same territory was a bar to his admission. The Legislature of Virginia afterward annulled the purchase of Henderson, and the inchoate state of Transylvania disappeared. This state scheme is interesting as being the first organized attempt of an anglo-American government west of the Alleghany Mountains.

liamsburg, the Virginia state capital, seven hundred miles distant from Harrodstown, until the legislature had adjourned. They found, however, "much doing" in that part of the country. The colonies had declared their Independence. The British troops after the victory of Long Island had entered New York and later taken Fort Washington. The tide seemed to be against the fight for liberty. Commissioners had been sent to France to solicit her aid. Clark was fired with the desire to assist the new, and his, struggling nation. He conferred with the Virginia governor who was none other than the patriotic Patrick Henry. The Legislature again met. Clark and Jones were not admitted as members but were heard as advisors on the condition of Kentucky affairs. They succeeded in securing legislation creating the Kentucky section and its organization into a county, with the same name and boundaries it now has as a state. This was a great achievement for Clark. With Jones and a party of ten he started in January 1777, from Fort Pitt (Pittsburg) down the Ohio on their return to Harrodstown.* They had with them a large supply of ammunition for the Kentucky settlements. It was a perilous journey in which some of their number were killed by the Indians. On his arrival the fort at Harrodstown was strengthened as were the adjacent settlements. The settlers were encouraged and enthused by the new order of things. Clark had secured a regularly organized government for Kentucky and a supply of ammunition. Thus far his effort had been for preparation and defense. He next turned his thoughts to an aggressive warfare against the enemies of his young country. In the fall, winter and spring of 1776-7, the British authorities were active in the Northwest, preparing to prosecute the war in that region. Henry Hamilton was the British lieutenant-governor of the northwestern region with headquarters at Detroit. The conduct of the war in the west, as well as the entire management of frontier affairs, was intrusted to him. He was ambitious, energetic, unscrupulous and cold-blooded. From the beginning he was anxious to engage the Indians against the American settlers. He summoned great councils of the Northwestern tribes, persuading them by every possible means to

* Harrodstown was later, and now, known as Harrodsburg.

espouse the British cause and combine in hostility to the "rebels" as he called the colonist settlers. He openly offered premiums to the Redmen for every white rebel scalp they would bring to Detroit. Naturally the backwoodsmen held him in peculiar abhorrence and called him the "hair-buyer" general. Hamilton in all this brutal, but thoroughly British business, was sustained, if not actually directed, by Sir Guy Carleton, governor-general of the Province of Quebec and even by Lord George Germain (Viscount Sackville) Colonial Secretary in the British cabinet and appointed by George III to superintend the British forces during the Revolutionary War. Surely the settlers in the Ohio country were facing a war more appalling and savage than that waged against the colonists east of the Alleghanies. On the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontier the panic was wide spread. They fled to their village centers and block-houses and defended themselves as best they could. The Indians armed by the British, and roused to fury with rum and urged on with bribes, scoured the forests far and near for their prey. Their deeds of atrocity baffle description. The events that were being enacted in the thirteen colonies, had for their background, this great Northwest wilderness with its scenes of terror, rapine and savagery, to which civilized warfare was not to be compared.

Clark proposed to strike this monstrous power in its very heart. He proceeded to organize his military expedition for the conquest of the Northwest. He would march to Detroit by way of the chief British strongholds, capturing them as he went. It was a bold and brave undertaking. It was the project of a courageous general and a far-seeing statesman. In the fall of 1777 he again visited Williamsburg. The Revolution in the east had assumed a more hopeful aspect. The battles of Trenton, Princeton and Bennington in the winter, spring and summer of 1777 had brought victory to the American arms. The defeats at Brandywine and Germantown were followed by the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga in October.* In November the articles of confederation of the United States were adopted by Congress.

*Trenton, December 26, 1776; Princeton, January 3, 1777; Bennington, August 6, 1777; Brandywine, September 11, 1777; Germantown, October 4, 1777; Saratoga, October 17, 1777.

It was in December that Clark presented his deep laid plans to Governor Patrick Henry. The latter called in as counsellors Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe and George Mason. This illustrious trio appreciated the dangers and the extent of the enterprise, but also comprehended its importance and possibility.* They approved the proposed campaign, for they had confidence in Clark's ability and hardihood to succeed. On their approbation the Virginia Legislature authorized the governor "to organize an expedition to march against and' attack any of our western enemies, and give the necessary orders for the expedition."

Governor Henry gave Clark the commission of Colonel and authorized him to raise seven companies, each of fifty men, who were to act as militia, and be paid as such. But these soldiers were to be raised solely from the frontier counties west of the Blue Ridge, "so as not to weaken the people of the seacoast region in their struggle against the British." Colonel Clark's troops did not belong to the regular Continental Army. His "regiment" was authorized and entirely paid for by Virginia, though some of the soldiers were from Pennsylvania. Many were from the Kentucky country, which it must be remembered was at this time a county of Virginia.†

As a further incentive to recruits for Clark's regiment, it was held out by the Virginia authorities that in case of success each volunteer would be given three hundred acres of land, and officers in proper proportion, "out of the lands which may be conquered in the country now in the possession of the Indians."‡

* Clark's plans were fully and minutely thought out. He had weighed the consequences and, moreover, had in the summer of 1777 sent two spies through the Illinois and Wabash country to get information of the enemies' situation and strength.

† The main burden of the expedition was on Clark's shoulders. He is rightfully entitled to the whole glory. It was an individual, rather than a state or national enterprise. — *Roosevelt*.

‡ The Virginia Legislature in 1781-3 set aside 149,000 acres located in Clark, Floyd and Scott counties, Indiana. This is the "Clark's Grant," and was divided among 300 soldiers, including officers, according to their rank. Clark received 8,000 acres.

Clark estimated it would require at least five hundred men to successfully carry out this campaign. He only succeeded in raising about one hundred and fifty, which were divided into three companies respectively under captains Joseph Bowman, second in command, Leonard Helm and William Harrod. All three had seen much frontier service and had been associated with Clark in his Kentucky experience. They were worthy subordinates of the doughty colonel.

Governor Henry gave Clark the sum of twelve hundred pounds and an order on the authorities at Pittsburg for boats, supplies and ammunition. With this outfit the "army" that was to conquer the Northwest, a territory of 2,400,000 square miles, inhabited by countless savages and occupied at various points by British garrisons, set out May 12, 1778 from Redstone on the Monongahela. His expedition comprised "those companies" — named above — "and a considerable number of families and private adventurers." * Touching at Pittsburg and Wheeling to get his supplies, "his flotilla of clumsy flat boats, manned by tall riflemen" floated down the Ohio.

His voyage down the Ohio occupied about two weeks when he landed at the Falls, where the river broke into great rapids of swift water. He selected as his camping ground an island in the center of the stream widely known as "Corn Island," located immediately opposite the present site of Louisville, Kentucky.†

At this point a fourth company under Captain John Montgomery, was added to Clark's forces, which still numbered, all told, less than two hundred.‡ Simon Kenton, the famous scout and Indian fighter was one of Clark's new recruits. The apparent insufficiency of his army was a severe disappointment,

* In the whole I had about one hundred and fifty men collected and set sail for the falls. — *Clark's Memoirs*.

† This island, which has since disappeared, was about four-fifths of a mile in length and five hundred yards wide at its greatest breadth. Several of the families who came with Clark permanently settled on the island. Some of these islanders moved over to the Kentucky shore and thus Clark was the real founder of Louisville (1778), thus named at the time in recognition of the friendly ally, the French King Louis XVI.

‡ Actual number said to be 179. Butterfield says about 180.

though not a decisive discouragement to Colonel Clark. His heart was never faint. "I knew," he wrote, "my cause was desperate but the more I reflected on my weakness the more I was pleased with the enterprise." His bravery was further buoyed by the reception of the news that the American colonies had formed an alliance with France. He realized this would have great and favorable influence with the French in the garrison towns which he proposed to occupy.

THE KASKASKIA CAMPAIGN.

Clark remained on Corn Island about a month getting a "good ready," when on June 24 he embarked in big flat boats prepared to transport his force down the Ohio. Their setting forth and shooting the river rapids was signalized by the singular event of an almost total eclipse of the sun. But these backwoods soldiers were too hard-headed and steady nerved to give way to any superstitious foreboding. Rather did they regard it as a propitious omen. Doubtless they jested that it meant the sun which the British boasted never set on Britain's domain was at last to be obscured by the new American nation. They valiantly pushed on, double manned their oars and proceeded day and night until they ran into the mouth of the Tennessee river. Here he was met by a small party of hunters who had left Kaskaskia but a week before and who imparted much information as to the condition of that post. They desired to join Clark's forces. He cautiously received them "after their taking the oath of allegiance" and one, John Saunders, was chosen by Clark as his guide to Kaskaskia. Rejecting all unnecessary luggage, Clark now crossed the Ohio to the north side at about the site of Fort Massac, and after "reposing themselves for the night," set out in the morning upon their route for Kaskaskia. The little army had boldly struck into the northwest wilderness nearly a thousand miles from their base of supplies. Did any Continental regiment in the east display greater hardihood or patriotism? Reynolds in his *Pioneer History of Illinois* says; "Clark's warriors had no wagons, pack horses or other means of conveyance of their munitions of war or their baggage other than their robust

and hearty selves.* Colonel Clark himself was nature's favorite in his person as well as mind." He adds that "the country between Fort Massacre (Massac) and Kaskaskia at that day (1778) was a wilderness of one hundred and twenty miles, and contained, much of it, a swamp and difficult road." On the 4th of July, according to Clark's Memoirs, he arrived within three miles of the town of Kaskaskia, having the river of the same name to cross in order to reach the town. Having made themselves ready for anything that might happen they marched after night to a farm that was on the same side of the river about a mile above the town, took the family prisoners, and found plenty of boats to cross in, and in two hours transported themselves to the other shore with the greatest silence. Preparing to make the attack he divided his little army into two divisions, ordered one to surround the town, with the other he broke into the fort and secured the Governor, Phillip Rochblave. In Mason's letter Clark reports, "In fifteen minutes had every street secured, sent runners through the town, ordering the people, on pain of death, to keep close to their houses, which they observed, and before daylight had the whole town disarmed." Curious capture and seldom, or never, one so important in so brief a time, and in so bloodless a manner. Not a gun was fired, not a man was injured, no property destroyed. A town of twenty-five hundred inhabitants, a fort in prime condition, well equipped with soldiers, cannon and provisions — a garrison "so fortified that it might have successfully fought a thousand men" — taken in silence at night by less than two hundred worn and weary, footsore and hungry backwoods-men with no accoutrements, but their trusty rifles. They had been four days on the river rowing day and night, and six days marching through a dense and almost trackless wilderness, picking their way slowly but steadily through thickets and swamps. This strategic seizure was not without its romantic touches. One account† relates that the night of the capture the lights in the fort were ablaze, and through the windows came the sound of

* Butterfield says they had no tents or other camp equipage and not a horse.

† Memoir of Major Denny who claimed to get the story from Clark himself.

revelry. The officers of the fort were giving a dance, and the merry makers were tripping the "light fantastic" to the tune of violins in which the unsuspecting sentinels, deserting their posts, were taking part. Clark, some recounters state, unobserved entered the room of the revellers and stood "silently and with folded arms," gazing at the scene. His discovery was made known by the war whoop of an Indian, creating instant dismay and dire confusion, but Clark bade them dance on, only to remember they were now dancing to Virginia and not Great Britain. At any rate then fell Kaskaskia.*

Its commander was Governor Philip Rochblave a defiant but evidently careless officer, devoted to the British cause. He was peacefully sleeping by the side of his wife when Clark and some of his officers entered his bedroom and aroused† him with the startling news that he and his quarters were in the hands of the Americans. He was promptly sent, under escort, as a prisoner to Williamsburg, where he was paroled and whence he escaped to New York. His family were retained in Kaskaskia, and his slaves and property, of which he had a goodly amount, were sold and the proceeds distributed among Clark's soldiers.

Naturally the surprise and consternation of the Kaskaskians was great when they became fully aware of the fact that the Americans had "met" them and won them. They were moreover in mortal terror as the British officers had made them believe that Americans were little better than savage brutes, and would inflict untold indignities. They plead most piteously for mercy. Among

* Kaskaskia had a memorable history. It is situated upon the Kaskaskia river five miles above its mouth, but owing to the river's bend, but two miles from the Mississippi. From the days of La Salle (1682), during the dominion of France, England and Virginia, it was the capital of the Illinois country. The flags of three nations respectively, floated from the battlements of its block fort. It was the leading town of the Northwest Territory from its organization to 1800, and then of Indiana territory to 1809. It was the capital of Illinois during the territorial period and for sometime after the organization of that state. It was a Jesuitical stronghold. In 1721 it became the seat of a Jesuit Monastery and College. Kaskaskia was, so to speak, a western metropolis before Pittsburgh, Cincinnati or New Orleans sprang into existence.

† Other authorities say Simon Kenton "woke up" Rochblave. Very likely he was with Clark.

their number was the illustrious Father Pierre Gibault† who for ten years had been their trusted and devoted spiritual advisor. Father Gibault, with many followers, waited upon Colonel Clark and requested that the captive citizens be permitted to assemble in their church to confer together on "their desperate condition and to hold religious services." Colonel Clark graciously assented and took occasion to correct their mistaken ideas of the intentions and character of their American captors, and to assure them of courteous and generous treatment. He explained to them the political situation, the cause of the American Revolution, the friendly alliance between the United Colonists and France. It was a welcome revelation to them. They were convinced, and appeased. Clark announced that those who chose "were at liberty to leave the country with their families." From those who decided to remain he should require the "oath of fidelity." They were given a few days to ponder and conclude this matter. In all this Colonel Clark displayed great tact, diplomacy and knowledge of human nature. The French were not only persuaded to his cause, but became his personal adherents, admiring his bravery and humanity, and confiding in his integrity. Father Gibault, of all others, quickly understood and appreciated the noble qualities of the sturdy and straightforward Clark, and was thenceforth, not only the warm and steadfast friend of the colonel, but of the American nation, and his subsequent loyal and sacrificing services were of greatest value to the promotion of Clark's plans and purpose. Gibault was to be a conspicuous and unique figure in the events leading to the conquest of the Northwest.

BOWMAN'S CAHOKIA CAMPAIGN.

The ulterior destination of Clark was Detroit, but the more immediate point for attack and occupancy was Vincennes on the Wabash river. Before entering upon the movement to secure that important station he decided to take possession of the French villages up the Mississippi, and especially Cahokia, which was then a place of one hundred families on the east side of that river, a few miles below where St. Louis is now located, and some seventy

† Butterfield says Gibault was Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec for the Illinois and adjacent countries.

miles from Kaskaskia. Colonel Clark remained in Kaskaskia to hold matters in the proper level and still further win the inhabitants to his side. He detailed Captain Joseph Bowman for the Cahokia expedition. The captain was assigned thirty mounted men. They were weary from fatigue and loss of sleep, but it was thought no time should be lost in hastening upon the French villages before the citizens of the latter could hear of the capture of Kaskaskia and prepare to defend themselves. Captain Bowman and his chosen "cavalrymen" therefore set out the evening of the first day that Kaskaskia was occupied. Bowman wrote a very concise account of this trip.* His company in the journey to Cahokia was three successive nights and days. The first town they reached was Prairie du Rocher about fifteen miles distant from Kaskaskia. "Before they (the inhabitants) had any idea of our arrival we had possession of the town. They seemed a good deal surprised and were willing to come to any terms that were required of them."† Bowman then hastened on to St. Phillips about nine miles higher up. It was a small town and straightway capitulated to the invader. Bowman says: "Being in the dead time of the night they seemed scared almost out of their wits, as it was impossible they could know my strength." From St. Phillips, Bowman hurried on to Cahokia where he arrived on the third day, and riding up to the Commander's house demanded a surrender. The commandant and all the citizens promptly complied, whereupon Bowman stated they must take "the oath to the states," or he would still treat them as enemies. They waited till the next morning to consider. That night Bowman's force "lay on their arms" to prevent surprise, a precaution well justified as one of the inhabitants proposed "to raise one hundred and fifty Indians" and rush on Bowman. The next morning, however, the Cahokians were compelled to swear allegiance to the American cause. And so Cahokia was added to the peaceful captures of Clark's army. Cahokia was at that date a town of much importance. It is a site with a past reaching into the realms of the pre-historic, for here are located some remarkable earthworks of the Mound Builders.

* This account of Bowman is copiously quoted from as found in English's conquest of the Northwest.

† Bowman's account.

It is claimed by some authors that Cahokia was the location also of the earliest white settlement on the Mississippi river, the name at first being Cohos, indeed Clark so spoke of it in his letter to Mason describing Bowman's capture. In 1764, when the territory passed from France to England and the last French commandant withdrew to give way to the English occupancy, many French families at Cahokia and the other towns removed west or south out of the British jurisdiction in order to escape being subject to English rule. The population still remaining at these points was mainly French or French descent and maintained an antipathy to their Great Britain conquerors. They therefore readily "fell into the hands" of Clark's forces and espoused the side of the united Colonies in their contest with the mother but oppressing country. Both Kaskaskia and Cahokia were not only French settlements and British posts, but also rallying places for the Indian tribes of the adjacent country. Generally the Indians were in greater or less force at these stations receiving aid or advice from the British commanders. At the time of Clark's invasion of the towns named the redmen happened to be mostly absent and thus the savages could not be summoned to Clark's discomfiture. The reception of Clark's forces were rendered therefore not only bloodless but really sympathetic. In view of these facts the procedure of Clark's troops from Fort Massac to Cahokia has, by some writers, been described as an expedition without peril and without any credit to Clark. The danger, however, was there, the well equipped garrisons, the lurking savages, the roadless country, the fatiguing forced march. Be that as it may, Clark took complete possession of the country as he proceeded.

THE VINCENNES VICTORY.

Clark had secured without diminution of his number or detriment to his project all the towns of the white people in the Illinois country west of the Wabash. "Post St. Vincent, a town about the size of Williamsburg was the next object in my view," wrote the hopeful Colonel. Vincennes was next to Detroit, the greatest stronghold of the enemy in the Northwest. Father Gibault had become the warm friend and ally of Clark. From the faithful priest the Colonel learned that Edward Abbott, the Brit-

ish governor of the town, had left Vincennes shortly before Clark's entrance into the enemy's country, and that both fort and town were then almost exclusively in the possession and control of the French settlers. Father Gibault believed that he could "win over" Vincennes by proceeding there without martial accompaniment, or warlike demonstration and by presenting to the citizens the true inwardness of the situation. He could tell them of the French and American alliance, give them assurance of their security under and friendly treatment by the Americans, and that if this logic was not sufficient, gently remind them that Clark had an army and might, if compelled, use arguments other than those of reason. Clark says, "the priest (Gibault) gave me to understand that although he had nothing to do with temporal business, yet he would give them (people of Vincennes) such hints in a spiritual way, that would be very conducive to the business." Evidently the Jesuitical disciple of the Prince of Peace was as "foxy" in his methods as were his more distinguished papal prototypes Wolsey and Richelieu. The plan was immediately accepted by Clark. Pierre Gibault, accompanied by one Doctor Jean Lefont, as a "temporal and political agent," with a few companions who served as a retinue and confidential observers for Colonel Clark, started out on the 14th of July carrying a pronouncement of Clark to the people of Vincennes authorizing them to garrison their own town themselves, which concession was well calculated to convince them of the implicit confidence the American Colonel had in them. Father Gibault and escort safely reached Vincennes and diplomatically made known their peculiar errand. The few emissaries, left by the British commander Abbott, naturally resisted the proposal, but being helpless were allowed to leave the town, the French inhabitants of which readily acceded to Gibault and all "went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner" by Father Gibault. The people at once proceeded "to elect an officer, the fort was immediately garrisoned," says Clark in his Memoir, "and the American flag displayed to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes. The people immediately began to put on a new face and to talk in a different style, and to act as perfect

freemen. With a garrison of their own and with the United States at their elbow, their language to the Indians was immediately altered. They began as citizens of the state, and informed the Indians that their (people of Vincennes) old Father the King of France, was come to life again and joined the Big Knives (Americans) and was mad at them (Indians) for fighting for the British; that they advised the Indians to make peace with the Americans as soon as possible or they might expect the land to be very bloody," and then Clark laconically adds, "the Indians began to think seriously." Father Gibault and his party returned to Kaskaskia about the first of August with the welcome news of the tranquil occupation of Vincennes and the transfer of that station from British to American control. Clark's advance and achievements seemed to be under the star of propitious fate. But at this point in his proceedings the plucky Colonel faced a serious situation. He was master of a vast territory and many posts with but a bare handful of soldiers. He was hundreds of miles from the nearest station harboring any American troops, and still farther from the seat of government. It would be months before he could get any re-enforcements. He was without instructions or authority as to further action. He had to rely entirely upon his own resources and judgment. His soldiers were getting restless and dissatisfied. Their time of service had expired, and they were ready and anxious to return home. Clark was beset with troubles. But he was resourceful and determined. His perplexities only served to test the strength of his character and the qualities of his mind. He could not abandon the country; that would be to relinquish all he had so adroitly gained. He resolved to "usurp authority" and continue unflinchingly in his plans. He at once, by presents and promises, succeeded in re-enlisting most of his soldiers on a new basis for eight months. He then publicly threatened to leave "the French station to their fate to which they naturally remonstrated and renewed their allegiance and offers of assistance." He thereupon commissioned some French officers and recruited a sufficient number of adventurous young creoles to fill up his four companies to their original complement. He established a garrison at Cahokia under

Captain Bowman. He placed Captain Williams in command of Kaskaskia, Captain Montgomery was dispatched to the Virginia capital, Williamsburg, to report to the governor the result of the expedition and ask for re-enforcements and supplies. Captain Helm, with a contingent of French volunteers and friendly Indians, was sent to assume direction of Post Vincennes. Clark now gave his attention to strengthening his situation. He drilled his men, both Americans and French, entered into friendly relations with the Spaniards of the scattered creole towns on the opposite side of the Mississippi. The Spanish were hostile to the British and readily sympathized with the Americans. Clark now took up the more difficult task of pacifying the various Indian tribes, the "huge horde of savages" who roamed the forests from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi. Clark followed the tactics of Hamilton at Detroit. He summoned the chiefs and their braves to Cahokia for a council. "It was," he says, "with astonishment that he viewed the amazing number of savages that soon flocked into the town of Cohos to treat for peace and to hear what the Big Knives had to say." They came from all over the Illinois and Wabash country, some of them from a distance of five hundred miles: "Chipaways, Ottoways, Potowatomies, Misseogies, Puans, Sacks, Foxes, Sayges, Tauways, Maumies and a number of other tribes, all living east of the Mississippi, and many of them at war against us." Clark in handling these treacherous redmen showed great alertness, shrewdness, ability and tact. Some Indian leaders conspired to capture Clark. He learned of the plot, promptly seized the chiefs of those guilty and put them in irons, though the town was then swarming with the savages. He taught them to fear him and to trust him. His successful treatment of the Indians was notably remarkable for the fact that he was wholly destitute of presents for the children of the forest, and presents they had always received in profusion from the British. Clark under all the adverse circumstances surrounding him secured treaties of peace with a dozen different tribes. He knew the Indians, however, and secretly sent spies throughout all the Indian country, even as far as Detroit, toward which he "was now casting a wistful eye." The result of Clark's policy with the tribes was to secure peace in the Illinois

country. The Indians remained friendly for a long time and the French were of course more than ever attached to the American cause.

Clark's expedition thus far had been so stealthily, swiftly and skillfully executed that the British authorities scarcely knew of it until its success was complete. On the 8th of August, however, a French missionary reached Detroit and imparted to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton the startling intelligence that the American "rebels" had invaded the Illinois country, captured Kaskaskia and Cahokia and were approaching Vincennes. The British at once began to bestir themselves. Hamilton hurried the news on to the commander-in-chief at Quebec, Governor Guy Carleton, to Lieutenant Colonel Bolton, Commandant at Niagara and to Captain De Puyster, Commandant at Michilimackinac. The order was speedily passed around that the American soldiers must be dislodged from the Illinois and Wabash country, and the Indians set upon the warpath to devastate the American frontier settlements.

HAMILTON'S CAPTURE OF VINCENNES.

On October 7 Hamilton set out from Detroit for a journey of six hundred miles to Vincennes with a force less than two hundred, indeed, just about the same number as Clark had started with on his expedition from the Ohio Falls to Kaskaskia.*

Hamilton provided himself with some fifteen boats well loaded with food, clothing, ammunition and presents for the Indians. With this armament Hamilton went down the Detroit river, thence thirty miles across lake Erie to the mouth of the Maumee, up which he proceeded arriving at the "Miami Town" (site of Fort Wayne) on the 24th. Here several parties of Indians were met and united to the army. From the headwaters of the Maumee (or Miami as then called) they followed the portage, a distance across land of nine miles, to a stream called the Little River, one of the sources of the Wabash.

* Hamilton gave his number on leaving Detroit as 179. There were 41 of the Kings Eighth Regiment of regulars, 8 "irregulars;" 70 trained militia and 60 Indians, altogether with himself, 180. This number was increased by Indians on the way until he had 500 on reaching Vincennes. The statistics given by Roosevelt vary in detail but make the aggregate about the same.

Over this portage they were obliged to carry their boats and baggage. The journey down the Wabash — (Ouabache) — was beset with many difficulties and obstacles. The water was shallow and often frozen over with a thin layer of ice, and the boats had to be lifted over or carried around the shoal places. When within a few days' journey of Vincennes they were met by a scouting party sent out from Fort Sackville, the fort lying partly within and protecting the town of Vincennes. Captain Helm was therefore warned of the enemy's approach. Helm's force, less than fifty soldiers, only two of whom were Americans, was utterly inadequate to defend the fort and town against the attack of Hamilton. The fort was a "wretched, miserable stockade without a well, barrack, platform for small arms, or even lock to the gate. Helm knowing he could not make a successful defense, determined to play a brave part, and this he did to an astonishing degree. Major Hay with a company advanced to the fort. Demanding admittance Captain Helm pointing a loaded cannon at the enemy ordered them to halt, exclaiming, "No man shall enter here until I know the terms." The reply was given, "You shall have the honors of war," whereupon Captain Helm surrendered and Fort Sackville and Vincennes was once more in the possession of the British. This was on December 17, 1778, seventy-two days after Hamilton had left Detroit. Two days after the occupation Hamilton required the inhabitants* to fore-swear the oath of allegiance they had taken a few months before to the American cause, and to renew their fealty to the British. Thus the French victims of Vincennes were shifted from side to side as the fortunes of circumstances demanded. And to this shifting they seemed easily adjusted. They readily fell in with the winning party. Hamilton restored the Fort to good condi-

* The citizens of all ages in Vincennes at this time were estimated by Hamilton to be 621, of whom 217 were qualified for military service. The oath to which they were obliged to subscribe was as follows: "We the undersigned, declare and aver that we have taken the oath of allegiance to Congress, and, in so doing, we have forgotten our duty towards God and have failed towards men. We ask the pardon of God, and we hope for the mercy of our legitimate sovereign, the King of England, and that he will accept our submission and take us under his protection as good and faithful subjects, which we promise and pray to be able to become before God and before men." — *Butterfield manuscript.*

tion; built a guard house and barracks; sunk a well, erected two large blockhouses and embrasures above for five pieces of cannon. Hamilton now rested securely on his laurels. He felt no uneasiness over the situation. He knew Clark's force was paltry and widely scattered, he (Hamilton) with five times the number of Clark was safely intrenched at Vincennes which lay directly in the path between Clark's posts and his source of supplies in Virginia or Kentucky. In due time he could move on to the towns occupied by Clark and retake them.

CLARK'S CAPTURE OF VINCENNES.

Colonel Clark clearly understood that Hamilton would in due time move upon the American garrison at Kaskaskia and Cahokia. With Napoleonic nerve he decided to move on Vincennes. It was the extreme of bold determination. He had only about one hundred American soldiers. His French soldiers numbering about the same were uncertain in their courage and stability. The French settlers of the Illinois towns were scared and "shaky" in their allegiance. The Indians were wavering and susceptible of influences from the British. The way to Vincennes was long and the country flooded with the winter waters. None but a leader of indomitable pluck and consecrated patriotism would have entered upon such an undertaking against such desperate odds.*

His resolve to push on to Vincennes was strengthened by the arrival of Francis Vigo from Vincennes. Vigo was an Italian, who had been a soldier in a Spanish regiment and was now a trader among the French, British and Indians and resided at St. Louis. He was made a prisoner by Hamilton and paroled. He hastened to Kaskaskia† and offered his services to Clark, in-

* Clark's soldiers and the citizens of both Cahokia and Kaskaskia were constantly in more or less of a panic, caused by rumors that Hamilton was coming. Clark was at a ball in Cahokia when the alarm was sounded that the British were without the city. A few days later similar false reports caused him to resolve to burn the fort at Kaskaskia, and he did tear down some of the adjacent buildings. At another time while going to Cahokia he barely escaped being captured by a party of Ottawas and Canadians — scouts from Vincennes.

†Vigo arrived at Kaskaskia January 27, 1779. He was caught by Hamilton's scouts while on his way to take supplies to Captain Helm, not then knowing Hamilton had repossessed Vincennes.

forming the latter that Hamilton proposed to rest on his cars till spring and had sent his Indian allies out about the country in various foraging and devastating parties. Clark must start instanter. He summoned Captain, now Major Bowman, from Cahokia, who was to be second in command. He marshalled his land forces into three companies officered respectively by Captains Richard M'Carty, John Williams and Francis Charleville, the latter a Frenchman, with a company of Kaskaskia recruits.† This army was augmented by a "navy" consisting of "a large boat prepared and rigged, mounting two four pounders (each), four large swivels with a fine company commanded by Lieutenant John Rogers."‡

This "gunboat" was named the *Willing* and was manned by forty-six soldiers. "The vessel," says Clark, "when complete was much admired by the inhabitants as no such thing had been seen in the country before." The *Willing* was loaded with supplies and was to be rowed down the Kaskaskia river to its mouth at the Mississippi, thence up the Ohio and the Wabash to a designated point below Vincennes, probably the mouth of the White river and there await further orders. On the afternoon of February 4, (1779), the *Willing* cast her moorings and dropped down the river amid the cheers of her "crew" and the shouts of the soldiers on shore and the excited populace of Kaskaskia. On the 5th Colonel Clark with his force of one hundred and seventy men marched out of Kaskaskia, with Father Gibault's blessing, and the farewells of the citizens. It was to be a tedious tramp of two hundred and forty miles, as the route was selected, it being what was then known as the St. Louis trail or trace.* Both Clark and Bowman wrote accounts of this marvelous march. It is to be recalled that it was conducted in the late winter or early spring when the streams were swollen, the rains frequently interspersed with sleet and snow. The land was everywhere water soaked and more or less ice crusted. The fatigues, hard-

† Bowman's old company was probably captained by one of the Worthingtons, Edward or William, it is not certain which.

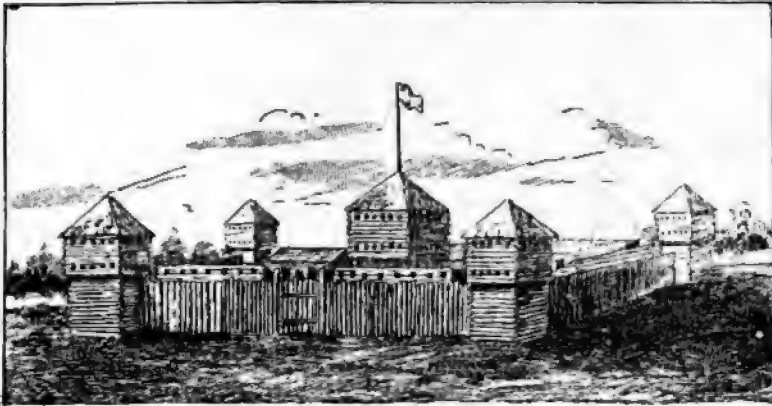
‡ Description from Clark's letter to Mason.

* It led through the later sites of Sparta, Coultersville, Oakdale, Nashville, Walnut Hill, Salem, Olney and Lawrenceville.

ships and privations of those plucky, patient, persistent and patriotic soldiers are not surpassed by the annals of any similar expeditions in history. It was the Valley Forge of the American Revolution in the Northwest, and of Clark's men, Bancroft might have written as he did of Washington's soldiers: "Love of country, attachment to their general, sustained the army under unparalleled hardships. Under any other leader the armies would have dissolved and vanished." Day after day for nearly three weeks they waded the creeks, the swamps, and the flooded districts, sleeping on the water-soaked or hard frozen ground; without sufficient food, often without any, frequently submerged to their waists and sometimes almost to their armpits, they struggled on. Clark, in his own account, says: "It was a difficult and very fatiguing march. My object was to keep the men in spirits. I suffered them to shoot game on all occasions and to feast on it like Indian war dancers. Each company by turns invited the others to the feasts, which was the case every night, as the company that was to give the feast was always supplied with horses to lay up a sufficient store of wild meat in the course of the day, myself and personal officers betting on the woodsmen, shouting now and then and running as much through the mud and water as any of them. Thus insensibly, without a murmur, were those men led on to the banks of the Little Wabash which was reached on the 15th through incredible difficulties far surpassing anything that any of us had ever experienced." Often in wading the streams or wide fields of water it was necessary to stop and make boats or rafts with which they could transport their baggage and accoutrements. Captain Bowman, in his Journal, has the following: "16th. Marched all day through rain and water, crossed Fox river, our provisions began to be short. 17th. Marched early, crossed several runs very deep. Sent Mr. Kennedy our Commissary with three men to cross the river Embarrass,* if possible and proceed to a plantation opposite to Fort Vincennes in order to steal boats or canoes to ferry us across the Wabash. About an hour by sun we got near the river Embarrass, found the country all overflowed with water. We strove to

* Embarrass was a stream running southeast and emptying into the Wabash about three miles below Vincennes.

find the Wabash, traveling till eight o'clock (at night) in mud and water but could find no place to encamp on. Still kept marching on. After some time, Mr. Kennedy and his party returned. Found it impossible to cross Embarrass river. We found the water fallen from a small spot of ground; stayed there the remainder of the night. Drizzly and damp weather. And 18th. At break of day heard Governor Hamilton's morning gun; set off and marched down the river. About two o'clock came to the bank of the Wabash. Made rafts for four men to cross and then up to town and steal boats, but they spent



FT. SACKVILLE, VINCENNES, IND.

a day and night in the water to no purpose and there was not one foot of dry land to be found. 19th. * * * Captain M'Carty's company made a canoe which was sent down the river to meet the batteau (the Willing) with orders to come on day and night that being our last hope and we starving. No provisions now of any sort for two days."

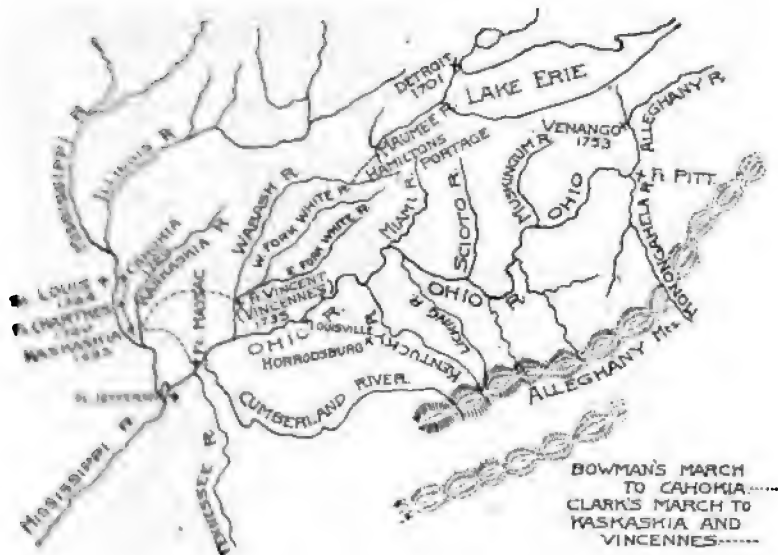
On the 21st, the whole army was transported across the river "rain all day and no provisions," the continued exposure without suitable food, shelter or rest began to wear out the men, especially the French. Clark resorted to every ingenuity to keep up the spirits and strength of the soldiers. The sea of water seemed to be unending. Upon one occasion Clark employed the following amusing expedient. In Bowman's com-

pany was a little fourteen year old drummer boy, also a giant sergeant, six feet two inches in his stockings. Clark mounted the little drummer on the shoulders of the stalwart sergeant and gave orders to him to advance into the half-frozen water. He did so, the little drummer beating the charge from his lofty perch, while Clark with sword in hand followed them, giving the command forward march as he threw aside the floating ice. Elated and amused at the scene, the men promptly obeyed, holding their rifles above their heads, and in spite of all obstacles reached the high land opposite them, taking care to have the boats try to take those who were weak and numbed with the cold, into them.* Other expedients were employed to stimulate the dejected and despairing soldiers, such as blacking the face with powder, raising the Indian warwhoop, joining in patriotic songs, etc., but after all the most potent and least jocose persuasion was no doubt Clark's order to Captain Bowman, who was his second self, to keep in the rear twenty-five picked men with orders to shoot down anyone refusing to march, or attempting to desert. But the flood, like Tennyson's brook, went on forever. It grew worse as they neared Vincennes. Clark himself says: "This last day's march (the 21st) through the water was far superior to anything the Frenchmen had an idea of. The nearest land to us was a small league called the Sugar Camp. A canoe was sent off and returned with signs that we could pass. I sounded the water and found it as deep as my neck. We had neither provisions nor horses. Finally they found a sort of a path or elevated ridge of earth which they followed and upon which they walked, though even above that the water was nearly waist deep. That night was the coldest night we had, the ice in the morning was from a half to three-fourths of an inch thick. I addressed the soldiers after breakfast, such as it was, telling them that beyond the immediate woods they would come in full view of the town which they would reach in a few hours. They gave a cheer and courageously stepped into the water once more. They still continued to be waist deep. A canoe with a few inmates was sent forward with instructions to cry out 'land' when they found a dry lodging place. Many of the men

* English's Northwest.

...the weak they had to be supported by companions and had ...literally carried out of the water. Some of them hung to ...and floated on the old logs. Finally dry land was reached ...

...one of the most remarkable forced marches on record which ...lasted fourteen days was at an end. Hamilton had had no ...of the approach, indeed was entirely disarmed by the ...that no troops could reach the Fort through the watery ...therefore when Clark's soldiers appeared before



Fort Sackville, Hamilton was as startled and amazed as if he had received an electric shock. Clark's men had halted "on a delightful dry spot of ground of about ten acres." They found that the fires which they built had little or no effect upon the men who were literally water-soaked and cold-benumbed. The weak ones had to be walked about and their limbs exercised by the stronger ones. They took what little refreshment they had, and

• The strong and the tall got ashore and built fires. Many on reaching the shore fell flat on their faces, half in the water, and could come no farther. It was found the fires did not help the very weak, so every such a one was put between two strong men who run him up and down by the arms, and thus made him recover. — *Clark's Memoirs.*

faced the attack upon the Fort. They were in a truly critical condition no prospect of retreat presented itself in case of defeat. They faced in full view a town that had some six hundred men in it, troops, inhabitants and Indians. Clark, with the bravery of Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga, wrote out and sent to the Fort the following proclamation: "To the inhabitants of Fort Vincennes, Gentlemen: Being now within two miles of your village with my army determined to take your fort this night and not being able to surprise you I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens and willing, to enjoy the liberty I bring you to remain still in your houses — and those if any there be that are friends to the King will instantly repair to the Fort and join the Hair Buyer General and fight like men, and if any such as do not go to the Fort shall be discovered afterward they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated and I once more request them to keep out of the streets. For every one I find in arms on my arrival I shall treat him as an enemy. Signed G. R. Clark." The sending of this proclamation was followed by a bold advance upon Fort Sackville and the town, in full view of the inhabitants. They made themselves appear as formidable as possible, marching and countermarching in such a manner as to apparently double the number of the soldiers, and nearly all of them had flags which they waved in such a manner as to disguise their actual number, and increase the formidableness of their appearance. The land just before the village lay in ridges so that the soldiers as they scrambled over them would appear above and then dissappear in the declivities. This aided them again in appearing to be far more numerous than they really were.* They reached the space immediately in front of the Fort walls on the evening of February 23d. The drums were beat and the firing upon the Fort commenced. At the same time portions of the force entered the town, where they received immediate assistance from friendly inhabitants who furnished them with ammunition, and Tobacco's son, Chief of the Piankeshaw

* This account of Clark's advance upon Vincennes is from the Memoir of Clark supposed to have been written about 1791. Many statements in it have been discredited. Roosevelt, in his "Winning of the West," particularly doubts the accuracy of this Vincennes parade.

tribe, promptly mustered his warriors and offered his services to Colonel Clark. This Indian assistance was diplomatically declined with thanks as Clark was afraid to allow the Indians any license, not wishing to be responsible for savage barbarities upon the British. The siege of the Fort and town continued during the night. Clark's men had decidedly the advantage of position, for they could conceal themselves behind the houses and fire upon the Fort from all directions without being injured or even seen. On the morning of the 24th Colonel Clark sent a flag of truce to Governor Hamilton with a message which read as follows: "In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you I order you to immediately surrender yourself with all your garrison, stores, etc. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurt one house in town; for by heavens if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you. Signed G. R. Clark." Hamilton replied: "Lieut. Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clark that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects." The firing was resumed and was continued for some time when a second exchange of messages was made. Governor Hamilton with an aid then held a consultation with Colonel Clark and Captain Bowman in St. Xavier's Church. While the negotiations were ensuing a party of Indians friendly to the British approached the Fort, were captured by the Americans and tomahawked, and their bodies thrown into the river in full view of the British occupants of the Fort. This horrifying spectacle was reluctantly enacted by the men under Clark in order to terrorize the British soldiers. It was successful, and Lieutenant Governor Hamilton promptly surrendered upon the conditions laid down by Clark. The soldiers, seventy-nine in all, marched out of the Fort and delivered themselves as prisoners of war.* The campaign and siege of Fort Vincennes was at an end.† Two days

* Hamilton subsequently acknowledged, in a letter, his chagrin in having to yield "to a set of uncivilized Virginian woodsmen armed with rifles."

† Clark had but one man wounded. Six or eight of Hamilton's force were killed or severely wounded.

after the capture the batteau "The Willing" which had come by water arrived with her forty-six men. It was the extinguishment of the British domination in the Wabash and Illinois country. Captain Leonard Helm immediately proceeded up the Wabash river, where at a point about one hundred and twenty miles from Vincennes, they surprised and captured seven British boats manned by forty men and loaded with valuable goods and provisions intended for Fort Sackville, and sent from Detroit. If Clark had then been in a condition to march against Detroit he would probably have been successful, but his soldiers were so exhausted that for the present he abandoned the idea. Hamilton and his principal officers were sent as prisoners to Virginia where they were paroled. Hamilton later served the British government in important stations. Most of the British prisoners taken by Clark remained at Vincennes under oath of neutrality. A few joined Clark's regiment. The French citizens were again sworn to the American cause. By this time they had become adepts in the practice of oath taking. During Clark's expedition to Vincennes his messengers had reached Williamsburg and reported the doings of the intrepid Colonel. He was complimented by the Virginia Legislature and that same body, on March 10, 1779, passed an act organizing the Illinois country into the County of Illinois. Further legislation provided for the appointment by the governor and council of Virginia of a county lieutenant or commandant, who was authorized to appoint deputies and military officers requisite for the proper organization and control of the county. In the summer of 1779 this county government was established at Vincennes with Colonel John Todd, Jr., as Lieutenant or Commandant of the county. The Virginia legislature also directed that some five hundred men be enlisted, properly officered and ordered to the Illinois county to garrison the forts therein. But a portion of that number, however, were forthcoming. Thus was the Northwest occupied and secured to the American Colonists. It was almost a bloodless and battleless conquest, but a subjugation nevertheless of the most far reaching character. It prevented the western country from being a vast field for the rendezvous of the British troops and the arena for the centralization and confederation of Indian tribes against the colonial frontiers of

Pennsylvania, Virginia and the southern states. Clark checkmated the British scheme to attack and destroy the colonies from the rear. More than all Clark saved to the Union the Northwest Territory. Had it not been for him and his little band of backwoodsmen, although the armies of Washington were victorious, without doubt in the settlement of the result between the two countries, the Illinois and the Wabash country, including Ohio, would have been retained as British territory, precisely as was Canada. Had it not been for Clark the colonial western frontier would have been the Alleghany range. Clark changed the destiny of the United States and perhaps the destiny of the English speaking race.*

* Clark himself, towards the end of 1779, took up his abode at the Falls of the Ohio, where he served in some sort as a shield both for Illinois and Kentucky, and from whence he hoped some day to march against Detroit. That was his darling scheme, which he never ceased to cherish. Through no fault of his own, the day never came when he could put it into execution. — *Roosevelt.*



THE OLD RIVER BRIDGE.

JAMES BALL NAYLOR.

(Read at the dedication of the Malta-McConnelsville steel bridge, July 8th, 1902. The new steel bridge superseded the old wooden toll bridge built in 1867.)

The old river-bridge, grown decrepit and gray
In the warfare of years, has, alas, passed away;
For Time the remorseless has triumphed at last —
And the faithful old bridge is a part of the past.
Like a warrior it stood, with its feet in the tide
And its lean arms outstretched to the bridegroom and bride
Saying: "*Lovers unwitting, God's will has been done!
I've blessed ye and bound ye; ye twain are made one!*"

When the elements battled, and thunderbolts fell —
Like arrows God-flung at the ramparts of hell;
When a crash of the storm sent a chill to the blood,
And the highway of man was the gateway of flood;
Then the sturdy old bridge strained its sinews of wood,
And stiffened, and quivered, and tottered — but *stood!*
And the message it sent o'er the turbulent tide
Was: "*I've bound ye and blessed ye; no storm shall divide!*"





At night—in midwinter, when snowdrifts lay deep,
And the wind was awake and the world was asleep;
Or in summer, when hilltop and housetop and stream
Were aglint with the touch of the moon's paly beam;
Then the old wooden bridge, that no ill might betide,
Kept guard o'er the slumbering bridegroom and bride.
And the words that it murmured at daybreak's release
Were: "*I've guarded and kept ye; sleep on — sleep in peace!*"

Ah, the old river-bridge felt the terrors and tears
Of the twain it had joined — all their sorrows and fears!
And it, also, partook of their pastimes and joys —
Knew their frolicsome girls and their rollicksome boys!
And its rigid, impassive, old features of oak
Went aquiver with smiles, at the crack of a joke
Or the trill of a laugh; and it whispered: "*Ah, me!
May their lives full of pleasure and happiness be!*"

But there came in the year of the century's birth —
Sent by Time the remorseless, the ruler of earth —
A panoplied knight in a harness of steel;
And the old wooden bridge felt the conqueror's heel!
Knowing well that its battles and triumphs were o'er —
That the friends it had loved would now need it no more,
It sank down to its rest, with the tremulous sigh:
"*I've blessed ye and served ye; God keep ye — good bye!*"

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E. O. Randall

JANUARY, 1903.

THE AMERICANISTS AT FORT ANCIENT.

The International Congress of Americanists, made up of delegates from the leading states of Europe, and nearly all of the Countries of the Americas, held their biennial meeting in New York City, beginning October 22, 1902. At this meeting many addresses were made, and papers were read by distinguished scholars pertaining to the Archæology of North and South America. The full proceedings of this meeting, with the addresses, will be published in book form during the present year. This congress is an institution of great importance, and is rather unique in its character. The delegates to it were from various foreign countries, and were appointed, and had all their expenses defrayed, by the respective governments which they represented. At the close of their regular conference in New York, they were made the particular guests of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which conveyed them by special cars from New York to Washington, D. C. where they investigated the Government Museums. Thence they were to proceed to Chicago by way of Cincinnati, their ultimate destination being St. Louis, that they might visit the great mound of Cahokia, which is on the Mississippi river nearly opposite St. Louis. It was the expressed and almost universal desire of the delegates to this congress that they have an opportunity of visiting Fort Ancient, and negotiations between the Secretary of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and Mr. M. H. Saville, the general secretary of the congress and Assistant Curator of the American Museum of Natural History of New York, resulted in the accomplishment of the wish of the members of the congress. By the action of the Trustees of the Ohio Society, the Americanists were made the guests of the Society at Fort Ancient, on Thursday, October 30, 1902. The train conveying the foreign party reached Columbus in the early morning of the date in question, and they were met and greeted by the following trustees and officers of the State Society: Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, G. F. Bareis, A. R. McIntire, M. D. Follett, H. A. Thompson, J. P. MacLean, C. L. Martzoff, B. F. Prince, C. P. Griffin, N. B. C. Love, E. O. Randall, W. C. Mills and E. F. Wood.

The guests and hosts proceeding over the Little Miami Railroad arrived at Fort Ancient at 10 A. M., where carriages had been provided by the custodian Mr. Warren Cowen, to convey the entire party to the

hill, and about the Fort. After a substantial lunch had been partaken of, an address of welcome was made to the guests by General Brinkerhoff, on the part of the Society, and remarks explanatory of the Fort were made by Professors J. P. MacLean and W. C. Mills. The entire grounds were then inspected, many of the party putting in much of their time in looking for relics, mostly with disappointing results. The weather proved to be the most propitious, and the visitors were greatly delighted by their examination of these world-renowned prehistoric remains. Many of them had become familiar with all that is generally known concerning Fort Ancient, from Archæological literature, and the inspection of models in foreign museums. The European delegates were peculiarly interested and astonished. Even the youthful and practical United States could exhibit prehistoric remains of surpassing magnitude and perfection. They all declared that it was the most wonderful specimen of its kind, probably, in the world, and all complimented the Ohio Society on being its possessor, and for keeping it in such excellent condition. They all declared it was the most enjoyable and interesting day they had experienced since their visit to America. Mr. George F. Bareis took several photographs of the party. Altogether it was a red-letter day for the Ohio Society whose representatives present were none the less delighted and entertained than were the guests. The foreign party embraced many of the most distinguished Archæologists in the world, and indeed, all of them were men of ripe scholarship and of more or less widespread fame. The following is a list of the guests present at the Fort Ancient visit:

Edward H. Thompson, Merida, Yucatan, Mexico.
 David Boyle, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
 Juan B. Ambrosetti, Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic.
 M. Gonzalez de la Rosa, Paris, France.
 Arthur Farwell, Boston, Mass.
 Arthur M. J. Hirsh, Munich, Germany.
 Waldemar Borgoras, St. Petersburg, Russia.
 Alfred M. Tozzer, Peabody Museum, Cambridge.
 Francisco Belmar, State of Oaxaca, Mexico.
 Henri Pittier de Fabrega, Costa Rica.
 Leon Lejeal, College of France, Paris.
 Alfredo Gonzalez, Mexico.
 Chevalier L. C. van Panhuys, The Hague, Netherlands.
 Prof. Eduard Seler, Berlin, Germany.
 Juan F. Ferraz, Costa Rica.
 Mary Endora Lyon, Salem, Mass.
 Mrs. Jessie Crellin Pepper, Newark, New Jersey.
 Mrs. Annie Lyon Saville, New York City.
 Mrs. Grace Hyde Trine, Oscawana-on-Hudson, N. Y.
 Miss Alice Edmands Putnam, Cambridge, Mass.

George H. Pepper, Am. Museum Nat. History, New York.

Harlan I. Smith, Am. Museum Nat. History, New York.

Cecilie Seler, Berlin, Germany.

Hjalmar Stolpe, Stockholm, Sweden.

Luis A. Herrera, Uruguay.

Marshall H. Saville, New York.

Adelaf Breton, London, England.

C. T. Hartman, Stockholm, Sweden.

At the station, before departure, Mr. Saville made a neat little speech in behalf of the guests, thanking their hosts for the pleasure and profit of the day, and three cheers were given by each party in behalf of the other. The guests proceeded, under the escort of President Howard Ayres of the Cincinnati University, and Mr. C. L. Metz, the distinguished Archæologist of Madisonville, to Cincinnati, where they were the guests of the Society of Natural History, and the Cincinnati Museum of Archæology.

HON. CHARLES. P. GRIFFIN.

Hon. Charles P. Griffin died at noon, of heart failure, at his residence on Collinwood Avenue, Toledo, December 18, 1902. Mr. Griffin was born at Tipton, Lorain County, February 3, 1842. He was brought up on the farm, attending district school winters. He taught school in Iowa in the spring of 1859, and in Missouri in the fall and winter of 1859 and 60. He entered Oberlin College in January, 1861, but his college course, like that of many other patriotic boys, was cut short by his enlistment in Company C., 7th O. V. I., in April, 1861. Failing health, however, prevented a long service in the army, and he returned to College, remaining there during the years 1862, '63 and '64, paying his expenses by teaching school during the vacation months. In 1864 he became one of the proprietors of the Oberlin Business College; established and took charge of a business college at Hillsdale, Michigan, in 1866. In



CHARLES P. GRIFFIN.

1868, he removed to Toledo, where he engaged successfully in real estate and insurance business. He was trustee of Hillsdale College from 1876 to 1886, and when the college buildings were rebuilt after their destruction by fire, one of the largest was named in his honor "Griffin Hall." Although retaining his residence in Toledo, his business headquarters were in New York from 1874 to 1879, and in Chicago from

1879 to 1883; since which time he was profitably engaged in the business of real estate and farming. When some two or three years ago, the Toledo and Indiana Electric Line was organized, Mr. Griffin was elected president, and up to the time of his death devoted his entire time to its construction. Mr. Griffin was an ardent Republican, and was the choice of a large number of Toledoans for Congress, three times losing the nomination to Congressman James Southard. He served with distinction in the Ohio Legislature, being elected in 1887, on the Republican ticket; member of the 68th General Assembly, by a majority of five hundred, reelected in 1889 by twice that majority; elected for the third time in 1891 by over fifteen hundred majority; and elected for a fourth term in 1893 by a majority of four thousand. He was elected to the 74th General Assembly, in which he championed the legislative enactment promoting the Ohio Centennial, which was to have been held at Toledo. He displayed great energy and diplomacy in carrying the bill through in spite of most determined opposition. The bill was afterward declared inoperative by the Supreme Court.

Mr. Griffin was, from its early days, a most staunch, active and effective member and friend of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. At the annual meetings on March 7, 1890, and February 18, 1891, he personally participated, and at the dinner on each of those occasions delivered an eloquent address upon the "History of the Maumee Valley." In 1891, Governor James Campbell appointed him a trustee of the Society. He served until 1894, when he was re-appointed by Governor William McKinley, serving until 1897 when he was again re-appointed by Governor Asa Bushnell, and at the expiration of that term, he was re-appointed in February, 1900, by Governor George K. Nash, to serve until February, 1903. He was therefore in continuous service, as trustee by appointment, for twelve years, the longest service of that kind, by any trustee. On the visit of the Trustees of the Society with the Americanists to Fort Ancient, of which we give an account in this number, Mr. Griffin was present, and took a lively interest in the events of the day, and said to the writer of these lines that he proposed from then on to give the Society much of his attention and effort. Mr. Griffin was an indefatigable worker in everything that he undertook. He was a man of strong convictions and courageous action. He was an ardent friend, and a fearless foe. He was a ready speaker, an expert parliamentarian, and a skilled and shrewd debater. Several times during the history of the Society, as the writer can personally testify, Mr. Griffin was its champion on the floor of the legislature, and more than once was the leader in carrying through measures promotive of the progress and efficiency of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. Well does the writer remember a particular incident in the general assembly of one of the early 90's. It was an evening session, the temper of the house was one of restlessness and impatience. A bill in the interest of the Society was

NOTES

under discussion; the tide was against the enactment on the ground that the Society did not merit the State's aid. Mr. Griffin hastily summoned the writer to the cloak-room of the House and asked a full explanation of the situation. It was given. Mr. Griffin returned to the floor and in a most vigorous argument and enthusiastic plea changed the prevailing sentiment and carried the bill through. He was the friend of the Society and deserves the kindest thought and most grateful memory of its members.

To the surviving wife, son Mark and daughter Ethel of Toledo and daughter Mrs. N. Coe Stewart, of Worcester, Mass., we extend the sympathy and well wishes of the members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

OHIO AND THE WESTERN RESERVE.

Mr. Alfred Mathews, recently made honorary member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, has given the public one of the most valuable little books on Ohio history that has been issued within recent times. The book bears the title *Ohio and her Western Reserve*, with a story of three states, the states being Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Ohio. Mr. Mathews is a tireless student of history. He has apparently exhausted the subject of his volume. With great detail, but always in a delightful and polished style he gives the history of the Connecticut colony, its claim of a wide strip of territory across Pennsylvania and the northern part of Ohio into Michigan and Indiana. His chapter on Wyoming gives the most complete and satisfactory history of the Connecticut settlement at Wyoming, the tragic history of that settlement, the battle and massacre of Wyoming, that we have ever seen in print. It will be recalled that this settlement by the Connecticut colonists at Wyoming was the first pioneer settlement of the Connecticut people within the boundary of Penn's province on the Susquehanna river, and within the territory claimed by Connecticut, and was made largely to preempt and establish by right of possession the title of Connecticut to that western extension. "It represented the first overt act of an inter-colonial intrusion; the initial movement of that persistent, general, systematic invasion which resulted in the settlement of Wyoming and the establishment of a Connecticut government on Pennsylvania soil; a determined effort to dismember the state and to create another, to be carved from the territory of Pennsylvania." Wyoming was founded by what was known as the Connecticut-Susquehanna company, which made its settlement with about two hundred Connecticut men about a mile above the site of Wilkesbarre in the Wyoming valley in the early spring of 1762. As early as 1754 the company sent agents to Albany to purchase from the Indians of the Six Nations the land in the Wyoming Valley. This was all done under the protest of the Pennsylvanians and their

governor Hamilton. What was known as the "Pennamite" war subsequently ensued. There was much incipient warfare against and persecution of the Wyoming settlers until the early summer of 1778 when the Wyoming wives besought their husbands to return from the Continental Army of the Revolution to their Wyoming homes to protect their threatened destruction. At the same time these people called upon the Continental Congress and the Pennsylvania authorities for justice and protection for the threatened settlement. But the storm could not be stayed. The Indian and British and Tory forces were concentrated at Tioga on the Susquehanna some distance above Wyoming. "No more heterogeneous herd of murderous soldiers and savages was ever seen in America. Its total is not far from twelve hundred fighting men. There were four hundred British provincials with a rabble of Tories from New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. There were not far from seven hundred Indians chiefly Senecas with detachments from the Mohawks and other tribes. This army was in almost every conceivable dress from the martial dignity of trained soldiers down to the ruffian type of the low abandoned and depraved of the Tories. The regulars were in smart uniforms. Col. John Butler's Rangers in rich green; the Tories and renegades in every form of backwoods rusticity and tattered motley; the Indians half naked were in savage attire with their war-paint and barbarous adornment varied with martial trappings of soldiers slain in northern battles." This nondescript army was under the command of Colonel John Butler a remote relative of Colonel Zebulon Butler who was in command at Wyoming. The real leader of the Indian contingent under Colonel John Butler was Catherine Montour a halfbreed and reputed daughter of one of the French Governors of Canada. She had been liberally educated, and the best society of colonial Philadelphia, Albany and New York had petted and feted her as a romantic and engaging young woman in whose veins coursed a mingling of cultured and savage blood. She was now the widow of chief, known as Queen Esther, and enjoyed the repute of a seeress. She possessed peculiar power over her Indian race.

The forces at the Wyoming settlement and fort numbered all told only about three hundred men, and nearly all of these, according to the inscription of the monument erected in their honor, were "The undisciplined, the youthful and the aged." There were two hundred and thirty enrolled men, many in fact minors, and the remaining seventy were all either boys or old men. They were divided into six companies, and mustered at Forty Fort on the west side of the river where the families of the settlers on the east side had taken refuge. Such was the situation on that memorable day, the third of July, 1778, when the British and Indians having advanced intrepidly down the valley were finally met in battle. The result was inevitable. Col. Zebulon Butler's brave three hundred, like those of Leonidas at Thermopylæ, were cut down. One

hundred and sixty men were killed, and a hundred and forty escaped only to be subsequently captured. A debauch of blood followed for the special delectation of Queen Esther who personally participated in the battle. "That seemingly insane savage ordered a score of the prisoners brought before her for torture. They were compelled to kneel above a large rock, and then the fanatical fury chanting a wild song swept swiftly around the circle and dashed out the brains of sixteen victims while the warriors crowded closely about the scene of butchery expressing their fierce joy with leaps and yells." Nearly all of the three hundred men were killed in the attack or subsequent massacre. Of the wretched people remaining there were made that day in the valley one hundred and fifty widows, and nearly six hundred orphans.

Mr. Mathews deals at much length upon the settlement of the Western Reserve by the Connecticut Yankees. This phase in our state history he entitles "Connecticut Triumphant in Ohio." He does full justice to the great influence of the New England character in its transplantation from Connecticut to the shores of Lake Erie on the Western Reserve. The part which the Western Reserve has played through its distinguished characters, military, political, literary and otherwise is fully set forth. There is a very admirable and succinct statement of the origin and nature of the great ordinance of 1787, and the Marietta settlement which immediately followed the creation of the North West Territory. Mr. Mathews also briefly states the chain of events leading to the evolution of Ohio from the North West Territory into statehood. "Ohio was never formally admitted as all other states since the original thirteen have been, to the Union; and it has been a matter of much contention as to which one of a half dozen dates is the true one from which to compute her age." That of April 30, 1802 is not the true one, that date was simply the one upon which Congress passed the first enabling act paving the way for the admission of Ohio into the Union. A better one would be that of November 29, in the same year, when the constitution was adopted by the convention at Chillicothe, or January 11, 1803, when the first state election was held; but these and several others are unsupportable for various reasons. On February 19, 1803, Congress passed an act for the execution of the laws of the Union within the state of Ohio, "and so is the nearest approach to the act of admission, from which the existence of other states is determined. This date has been generally sanctioned by historians as the true one. But the legislature first assembled on March 1, 1803, and the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society has officially designated that date to be the proper one of the state's origin and it is therefore now generally so accepted." Mr. Mathews devotes an interesting chapter to the analysis of Ohio's ascendancy in the sisterhood of states. This he attributes mainly to its mixture of racial forces. "It has been tritely told that New England was sown with selected seed from Old England, but Ohio was sown with selected seed from all

New England and all the colonies. Her uniqueness, historically speaking, lies in the fact that hers was the first soil settled by the United States. New England was peopled by the Puritans and others from Old England; New York by Dutch and English; Pennsylvania by Quakers and Germans and Scotch-Irish; Virginia again by the English but quite different from those of Massachusetts and Connecticut; Maryland by still another element; and so on. Of the states not included among the original thirteen, but admitted to the Union before Ohio: Vermont was settled by Massachusetts and New York; Kentucky by Virginia; and Tennessee by North Carolina; but Ohio was settled by all of these—by elements from each and every state in the confederacy; in other words, Ohio was settled by the people of the United States. Ohio was the first territory to be representative of the entire people, colonists of English Puritans and Cavaliers and Quakers, of Scotch-Irish and Germans. And thus in a certain sense were not the Ohioans truly the first Americans?"

THE ACOLHUANS.

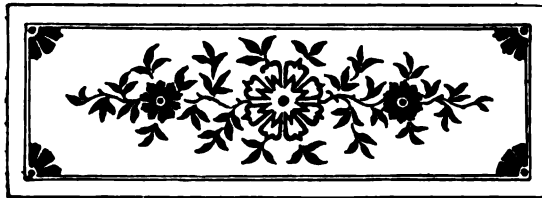
This is the age of the historical novel. It is being produced from the press *ad infinitum* if not indeed *ad nauseum* but it has remained for General John Beatty, a life and honored member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, to be the author of a prehistoric novel. General Beatty's book is therefore unique as a literary feature of the day. This volume, as confessed in the apology, purports to be a free translation from the Norraena of the story of a man living in the tenth century. It is the self-told narrative of the hero Ivarr Bartholdsson, a grandson of a former king of Norway, which king spent many years of his early life in the court of Athelstan of England. Ivarr with his father had drifted to Greenland, whence Ivarr with an adventurous party travels to the land of the Acolhuans who occupied the Ohio valley, and were none other than the Mound Builders of that territory. The book is thenceforth an account of the lengthy sojourn of Ivarr among its prehistoric people, whose customs, life, habitations, government, and social system so far as it went, are ingeniously and in imagination described. The author takes this form to tell what is supposed to be known about these people who left no written records. Ivarr in his wanderings strikes the northern boundary of the present Ohio at the mouth of the Sandusky river where was a chief settlement of the Acolhuans. The hero and his friends assist these people in one of their campaigns against a rival race known as the Skraelings. There is a naval encounter on the lake in their rude boats, and a hand to hand contest with clubs and bows and arrows on the land. Ivarr visits the various chief settlements such as those at Chillicothe, Newark and Marietta. These Mound Building settlements are graphically portrayed, the business and domestic life of

the people as one might suppose it to have been in the days of the tenth century. The author carries the credulity of his reader to the very limit. For instance, he fully describes the girls' and boys' schools at Lekin, the name which he gives to the present site of Newark, in the vicinity of which there still stand to-day vast and complete earth-works of those long lost tribes. These people, as General Beatty pictures them with a graphic pen, reached a stage of considerable civilization, one far beyond that of their successors the Indians. They had a written language, a commerce that extended to foreign nations in South America, and engaged in many of the amusements prevalent among our smartest set. They indulged freely, and often too frequently, in palatable wines, and appear to have been especially fond of gambling. Indeed the indulgence in this pastime got the hero Ivarr into very serious trouble from which he had most thrilling escapes. Ivarr takes a long journey from the country of the Acolhuans to Central America, and Mexico the country of the Taltecs, who, the author states, were the kinsfolk and contemporaries of the Acolhuans of the Ohio valley. There is of course a love-thread running through the story. One lady Gunhild, a princess among the Acolhuans, is the beloved of Ivarr, and with her he subsequently returns to Norway, where they live, in their later life enjoying the memories of their experiences among the Mound Builders of Ohio. General Beatty has woven into this interesting story very much that the Archæologists claim in behalf of these prehistoric people. The "Acolhuans" is not only an excellently imagined story itself, with many thrilling scenes and graphic descriptions, but is, moreover, well calculated to attract our attention to and interest us in the days and life of the Mound Builders, as we see them in our mind's eye. The book is embellished with several illustrations of the rehabilitated cities and localities of the Mound Builders, the special one of which is that reproducing Fort Ancient as it was in the day of its habitation. Fort Ancient the author describes as the city of refuge and the capital of the province. This is in accordance with a much accredited belief that Fort Ancient was the great central capital of these people in the Ohio valley. General Beatty very fittingly dedicates his volume to Colonel E. L. Taylor, a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and one than whom there are few, if any, so well versed in the life and character of the Mound Builders and their followers the American Indian. General Beatty's book is published by McClelland & Co. of Columbus, Ohio.

THE GREATEST MAN — AN OHIOAN.

A most attractive and interesting little pamphlet has just been published by Mr. S. F. Harriman, Columbus, O., under the pretentious title "The Greatest Living Man." The author is Col. William Jackson Armstrong, the distinguished writer, and who, under Grant's Administration,

was inspector of foreign consulates. Colonel Armstrong is a most forceful and accomplished writer. His style is more that of the early English essayists than of the modern facile but less elegant wielders of the pen. Colonel Armstrong, in this little monograph, displays a wonderful range of reading, marvelous insight into human nature, and most exact powers of analysis and comparison. He touches upon the leading characteristics of all the great living men, authors, poets, generals, artists, philosophers, scholars, actors, scientists, engineers, inventors, and great captains of industry both foreign as well as American. His essay is a remarkable condensation of vast intellectual sweep and study. He comes to the rather startling conclusion that the greatest living man is none other than Thomas Edison, the inventor, and a native Buckeye, having been born at the little town of Milan, near Norwalk. It is possible that all the world will not agree with Colonel Armstrong's deduction, but, in any event, considering the care and range which he has given to his subject, the Colonel is entitled to very great consideration.



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SIEUR DE LA SALLE,
*The Great French Explorer, Along the Maumee and Wabash
Rivers in the years 1669 and 1670.*

BY CHARLES E. SLOCUM, M. D., PH. D., DEFIANCE, OHIO.

M. Jean Talon, Intendant of New France, wrote to Louis XIV king of France under date of 10th October, 1670, that he had "dispatched persons of resolution, who promise to penetrate further than has ever been done; the one to the West and to the Northwest of Canada, and the others to the South West and South." (*Paris Document I, New York Colonial Documents*, vol. ix, page 64.)

Réné-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, being thus authoritatively "dispatched", with a party of twenty-four people started from La Chine, just above Montreal, on their journey to the southwest 6th July, 1669, and, the 30th September, separated from the party that was going to the Northwest, near the head of Lake Ontario; after which, for a period of toward two years, the journeyings of La Salle, although much discussed by learned researchers, have not been fully described, nor understood.

La Salle's maps and papers, supposedly descriptive of these journeyings, were reported by his aged niece to have been in existence as late as the year 1750; but they have not been found by his reviewers. In 1674 he returned to France, and while there had "ten or twelve conversations" with a friend who soon thereafter wrote, anonymously, a "Histoire de Monsieur de la Salle," which is reproduced by Pierre Margry in the first volume, page 376, of his *Decouvertes*, and from which the following extract is taken, viz:—

Cependant M. de la Salle continua son chemin par une rivière qui va de l'est à l'ouest; et passe à Ononataqué, puis à six ou sept lieues au-dessous du Lac Erié; et estant parvenu jusqu'au 280^{me} ou 83^{me} degré de longitude, et jusqu'au 41^{me} degré de latitude, trouva un sault qui tombe vers l'ouest dans un pays bas, marescageux, tout couvert de vieilles souches, dont il y en a quelques-unes qui sont encore sur pied.

Il fut donc contraint de prendre terre, et suivant une hauteur qui le pouvoit mener loin, il trouva quelques sauvages qui luy dirent que fort loin de là le mesme fleuve qui se perdoit dans cette terre basse et vaste se re-unnissoit en un lit. Il continua donc son chemin, mais comme la fatigue estoit grande, 23 ou 24 hommes qu'il avoit menez jusques là le quittèrent tous en une nuit, regagnèrent le fleuve, et se sauvèrent, les uns à la Nouvelle Hollande et les autres à la Nouvelle Angleterre. Il se vit donc seul à 400 lieues de chez luy, où il ne laisse pas de revenir, remontant la rivière et vivant de chasse, d'herbes, et de ce que luy donnèrent les sauvages qu'il recontra en son chemin.

This account must have been written from the poor memory of one evidently not familiar with the full significance of all the words used, in their relation to country wilds. Possibly it was done by La Salle's aged niece who affirmed that his maps were seen about 1750.

A very liberal translation of this excerpt is necessary to make it intelligible, and such naturally reads as follows:

Meantime, M. de la Salle [after parting with the Sulpitians near the west end of Lake Ontario] continued his way with the Onondaga [Aborigine, as guide], and up a river [the Maumee River] sixty leagues beyond Lake Erie. Having attained the 80th degree of longitude, or possibly the 83rd, and the 41st degree of latitude, he came to a decline westward through a low, marshy region covered with timber much of which was dead and fallen, and part standing. He was compelled to go a long way around on the high land; and there he met savages who told him that the water flowing from this large marsh soon united in a good channeled river [the *Petite* or Little River]. He continued his way until the distance, cold, hunger, and fears of his men became great, when his guide and company of twenty-four men left him in the night, some returning to New Holland and the others to New England. He then returned up the river, down which he went, living with the savages on their game, and vegetables.

This rendering accords with an extract given below that has been published and termed La Salle's memorial to Count Frontenac (Parkman, page 24), or with all that can be made out of it, viz:—

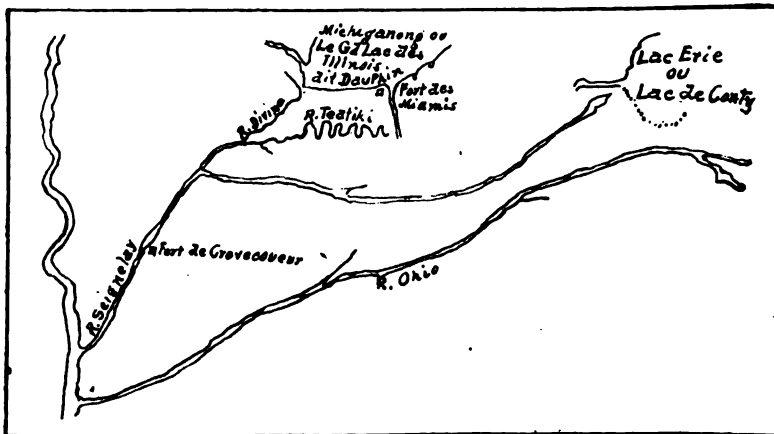
L'année 1667, et les suivantes, il fit divers voyages avec beaucoup de dépenses, dans lesquels il découvrit, le premier beaucoup de pays au sud des grands lacs, et entrè autres la grande rivière d'Ohio; il la suivit jusqu'à un endroit où elle tombe de fort haut dans de vastes

marais, à la hauteur de 37 degrés, après avoir été grossie par une autre rivière fort large qui vient du nord; et toutes ces eaux se déchargent selon toutes les apparences dans le Golfe du Mexique.

Surely La Salle was not the writer of this paragraph, as Parkman and others allege. It was surely the work of a friend or an amanuensis who did not understand clearly what La Salle told him. A literal translation of it, as of the preceding excerpt, is unintelligible. But, with a naturally free rendering, it accords with the preceding translation, viz:—

In the year 1687, and the years following, he [La Salle] made several voyages with much expense, in which he was the first to discover a large extent of country south of the great lakes, and the great river Ohio. He came to this by way of a river which rises in a large swamp and is enlarged by other rivers, and with much fall. He followed it throughout its extent, and along another large river until it was enlarged by another very large river from the north, to the latitude of thirty-seven degrees. According to all appearances these waters are discharged into the Gulf of Mexico.

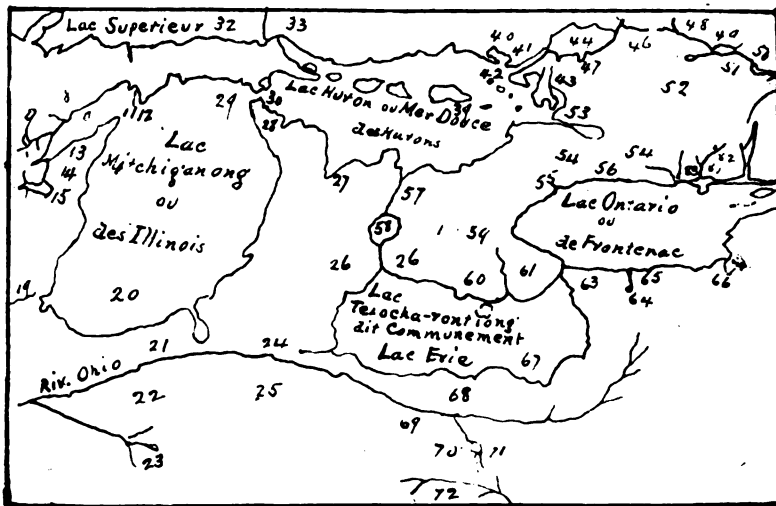
This rendering also makes good La Salle's claim of being the first to discover the Mississippi, it being that "very large river from the north."



SKETCH OF FRANQUELIN'S MAP OF 1682.

It is also significant that the latitude of 41°, named in the first extract, corresponds with that of the large swamp which,

even through the first half of the 19th century, often partook of the nature of a lake, as shown on Franquelin's map herewith sketched. This swamp existed, until the last few years, a few miles southwest of the City of Fort Wayne, Indiana, it being the broad channel which first drained the Glacial Lake Maumee, and which has since been drained by the Aboite and Little River, the first northern tributary to the Wabash. Also it is significant



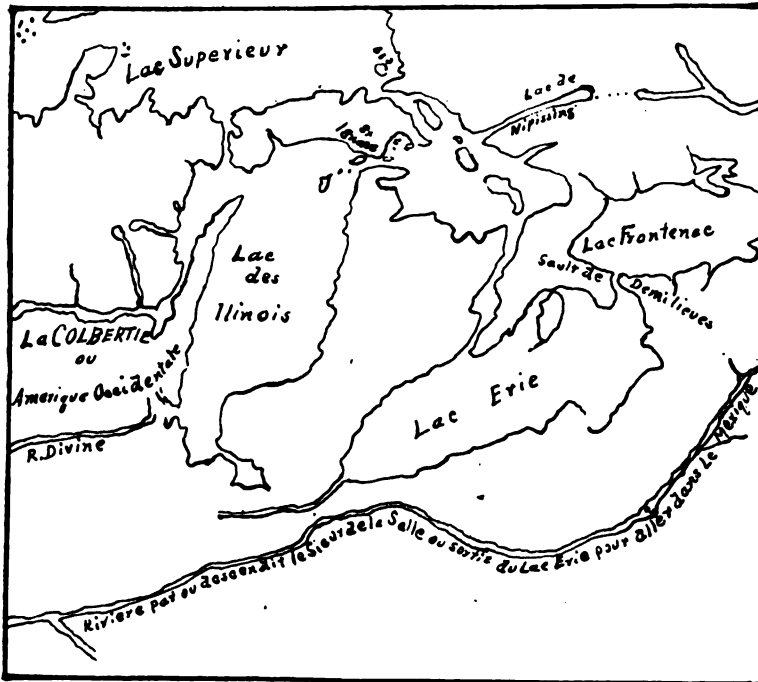
BASIN OF THE GREAT LAKES, circa 1672.

Anonymous. Sketch of Central Part. Figures refer to Legends that cannot be given here.

that none of the maps preceding this date, 1669, indicated the River Wabash nor the Ohio, though several do show the Maumee. In 1672, however, the Ohio appears on the map of The Basin of the Great Lakes, and Joliet's Smaller Map. Further, the stated latitude of thirty-seven degrees in the second extract accords well with the debouching of the Ohio River into the Mississippi.

Fortunately we have corroborating evidence of the justness of the foregoing renderings of the befogged French by the writer. In Tract Number Twenty-five of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Mr. C. C. Baldwin then its Secretary, wrote as follows:

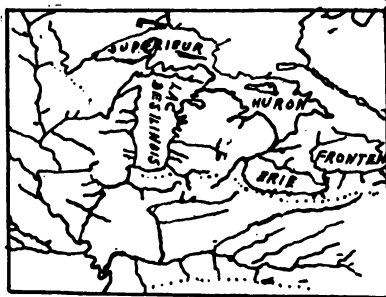
Mr. Margry, in a letter addressed to Col. Whittlesey, President of the Historical Society, after expressing in the kindest manner his thanks for the influence exerted here in behalf of his project [the publication of his researches], communicates the following extract of an unpublished letter of La Salle, (no date) which translated reads: The river which you see marked on my map of the southern coast of this lake [Erie] and towards the extremity called by the Iroquois Tiotontaenon, is without



JOLIET'S SMALLER MAP, 1672-74.
Sketch of Central Part.

doubt the passage into the Ohio, or Olighira Sipon as it is called in Iroquois, or in Ottawa The Beautiful River. The distance from the one to the other is considerable, and the communication more difficult; but within a day's journey from its mouth at Lake Erie (washing as it flows a beautiful country) and at a musket shot from its banks, there is a little lake [the marsh southwest of Fort Wayne? See Map No. 1] from which flows a stream three or four fathoms wide at the outlet from the lake one fathom in depth. It soon changes, however, into a river by the junction of a number of other streams, which after a course of a hundred leagues, without rapids, [without great fall] receives another

small river that comes from near the Miamis, and five or six others quite as large, and flowing with greater rapidity along the declivity of a mountain [higher ground] and discharging into the Illinois [Ohio] two



FRANQUELIN'S 1684 MAP.
Sketch of Central Part.

leagues below a village and from there thence into the River Colbert. It is called the Quabachi or Aramoum.

The original of this letter was sent to Mr. Parkman, who kindly returned it with the following note:

JAMAICA PLAINS, MASS., 9 Sept., 1872.

DEAR SIR: With regard to the extract from La Salle's letter, one or two points are worth attention. It looks like an account made from hearsay. On the map described on pp. 406-7 of *Discovery of the Great West*, [map No. 2 above] the Maumee River is clearly laid down, with a portage direct to the Ohio, which is brought close to Lake Erie. This map is clearly anterior to 1680. On the map of Franquelin, 1684, made after data furnished by La Salle, the Maumee is also laid down, with a branch [tributary] to the Wabash, designated as R. Agonasake, closely approaching it. Now I have little doubt that 'la rivière que vous avez vue marquée dans ma carte,' is the Maumee, the natural route 'pour aller à la rivière Ohio ou Oléghin (Allegheny) Sapon.' The distance to the portage at Fort Wayne is certainly far more than 'une journée,' but accuracy is scarcely to be expected. After crossing the portage, La Salle speaks of a stream 'qui se change bientôt en rivière par la jonction de quantité de semblables (et) qui après le cours de plus de 100 lieues sans rapides reçoit une autre petite rivière qui vient de proche celle des Miamis.' Such a 'petite rivière' is laid down on Franquelin's map. It flows into the Wabash, and answers to the Tippecanoe. The 'rivière des Miamis,' on Franquelin's and other contemporary maps, is the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan. La Salle goes on to say that the main river in question, called by him 'Ouabache or Aramoni,' 'constant le long au penchant d' une montagne, se descharger dans celle des Illinois deux lieues au dessous du village et de là dans le fleuve Colbert' [Mississippi]. He begins by professing to indicate the way to the Ohio, but ends with bringing the traveler not to the Ohio but to the Illinois. I can see no other explanation of the passage, than that of a slip of the pen on La Salle's part, (or that of some copyist,) writing Illinois for Ohio. [See map No. 1, above.] I can think of no other way of making the passage intelligible. This solution derives some support from the circumstance that on Franquelin's map an Aborigine village Taarsila, is laid down a little above the mouth of the Wabash (Ouabache). La

Salle, you remember, says that the mouth of this river is two leagues below the village.

The river is called by him 'Aramoni ou Ouabache.' He speaks a few years later of another Aramoni, identical with the Big Vermillion a branch [tributary] of the Illinois. One of the branches [tributaries] of the Wabash is also now called Big Vermillion, and the name Vermillion is given to the county of Indiana where this branch [tributary] joins the main stream. The coincidence is worth remarking. Vermillion is mentioned in La Salle's time as among the chief articles of Aborigine trade, and possibly Aramoni may be the Illinois or Miami name for it.

Yours very truly,

F. PARKMAN.

Summing up the question, it is presumed by the writer that La Salle's route to the Ohio River was along the south shore of Lake Erie, thence up the Maumee to its source, thence to and down the Little River to the Wabash. After being forsaken by his company, he turned his attention more to the Aborigines, first for the supply of his immediate wants and, secondly, for the investigation of trade possibilities. While returning up the Wabash and down the Maumee in the winter and spring of 1669-70, he undoubtedly met many Miami Aborigines from whom he may have learned not only of the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, which he afterwards called the *Riviere des Miamis*, but of the Kankakee, Desplaines, and Illinois Rivers, which he explored ten years later after, and with, great difficulties, but intent upon determining the outlet of the Great River — the Mississippi — and the best route to it. He visited and associated with many tribes of Aborigines, and formulated broad plans of trade with them from his observations and experiences. According to the writing of Nicolas Perrot, the author voyager, La Salle explored the Ottawa River of Canada in the summer of 1670 with a party of Iroquois.

Could La Salle have accomplished his ambitions and his plans, he would have led not only the van of discoverers at all times, but he would have controlled the fur trade of the Great Lakes, and of the rivers of the Mississippi Basin. But those high in authority, as well as the petty dealers, were jealous, watchful and hampering — while the quiet plottings of assassins ended his career in the year 1687 at the age of forty-four years.

KOSSUTH BEFORE OHIO LEGISLATURE.

[Copy of an address delivered before the General Assembly of Ohio, February 6, 1852, by Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian Patriot. His appearance before the Assembly was by invitation, and after its delivery a Committee was appointed to wait upon him and procure the manuscript of the address. This was secured, with the autograph of Kossuth, and is now preserved in the State Library. This publication is made from the original manuscript.—E. O. R.]

MR. PRESIDENT: The General Assembly of Ohio, having magnanimously bestowed upon me the high honor of this national welcome, it is with profound veneration that I beg leave to express my fervent gratitude for it.

Were, even with the honor which I now enjoy, no principles connected, still the fact would be memorable in history, and would not fail to have a beneficial influence consciously to develop the spirit of the age, which however contradicted, however opposed, still always proved to rule, and will prove to rule the destinies of humanity.

Applying the touchstone of philosophical scrutiny to that instruction which history affords, we cannot fail to remark that almost every century had one predominant idea, which all absorbingly prevailed, and impressed a common direction to the activity of nations. This predominant idea is the spirit of the age; invisible yet omnipresent; impregnable yet all pervading, scorned, abused, opposed, and yet omnipotent.

The spirit of our age is democracy.—All for the people, and all by the people. Nothing about the people without the people.—That is democracy. And that is the ruling tendency of the spirit of our age.

To this spirit is opposed the principles of despotism, claiming sovereignty over mankind; and degrading nations from the position of a self-conscious, self-consistent aim, to the condition of tools, subservient to the authority of ambition.

One of these principles will and must prevail.—So far as one condition prevails, the destiny of mankind is linked to a com-

mon source of principles; and within the boundaries of a common civilization, community of destiny exists. Hence the warm interest, which the condition of distant nations awakes now-a-days, in a manner not yet recorded in history, because humanity never was yet thus aware of that community as it is now. With this consciousness thus develops. Two opposite principles cannot rule within the same boundaries. Democracy or despotism. — There is no transaction between Heaven and hell.

In the conflict of these two hostile principles, until now it was not right, not justice, but only success, which met approbation and applause.— Unsuccessful patriotism was stigmatised with the name of crime; revolution not crowned with success was styled anarchy and revolt; and the vanquished patriot being dragged to the gallows by victorious despotism. It was not the consideration, why a man died on the gallows, but the fact itself that there he died, which imparted a stain to his name.

And though impartial history now and then cast the hallow (halo) of a martyr over an unsuccessful patriot's grave; yet even that was not always sure; tyrants often perverted history, sullied by adulation or by fear;— but whatever that last verdict might have been; for him who dared to struggle against despotism, when he struggled in vain, there was no honor on earth; victorious tyranny marked the front of virtue with the brand of a criminal.

To have opposed existing authority, though that authority was that of a violence, worse than the authority of a pirate is,— this opposition when unsuccessful was sufficient to exclude from every place where authority is residing.— The people never failed to console the outcast first, by its sympathy; but authority shared not the people's sympathy; regarded rather this very sympathy as a dangerous sign of the people's propensity to anarchy.

The idea of justice thus prevented; virtue thus deprived of its fair renown, and honor but attached to success, though criminal, like L. Napoleon's: all this became an obstacle of unmeasurable influence to the freedom of nations, never yet achieved but by a struggle, which success raised to the honor of a glorious revolution, but failure lowered to the reputation of a criminal revolt.

MR. PRESIDENT: I feel proud that my humble self became an opportunity for the restoration of *public honors* to where it only should be bestowed; to righteousness, and to a just cause; where as till now honors were (never) lavished but by success.

I consider this a highly important fact, which cannot fail to encourage the resolution of devoted patriots, who though not afraid of death, may be excused for recoiling before humiliation.

Senators and Representatives of Ohio: I thank you for it in the name of all, who may yet suffer, for having done the duties of a patriot. You may yet see, many a man who out of the source of your approbation, will draw encouragement to noble deeds. Because there are many on earth, ready to meet misfortune for a noble aim; but not so many ready to meet even humiliation and indignity.

Besides: in honoring me you have approved what my nation has done.— You have honored my nation by it. And I pledge my word to you, that it will yet do what you approved.*

The approbation of our conscience, my nation and myself, we had; the sympathy of your generous people we met; and it is no idle thing that sympathy of the people of Ohio; it weighs heavily like the sovereign will of two millions of free men; powerful like a giant in his stoutest youth;— You have added to it, the sanction of your authority.— Your people's sympathy you have framed it into a Law, sacred and sure in all consequences, — upon which humanity may rely, because you have registered it.

There is also a triumph of the Republican principle in this your fact. It is as if you had said: Ye despots, who call yourself sovereigns, and proclaim your arbitrary whim to be the law of humanity:— we in our legitimate authority, not derived from sacrilegious violence like yours, but from the only legitimate

*The Senate had just introduced the following Joint Resolution:

"Resolved by the General Assembly, That the Governor of Ohio be authorized, and is hereby instructed to deliver to Louis Kossuth, the Constitutional Governor of Hungary, on loan, all the public arms and munitions of war belonging to the state, which remain undisturbed, to be returned in good order upon the achievement of Hungarian liberty."

This resolution, on April 12, passed the Senate by a vote of 16 to 8, but was subsequently, April 15, 1852, indefinitely postponed in the House by the decisive vote of 59 to 26. — E. O. R.

source of all authority — the sovereign people's will; we declare before God and the world, that not there is justice and right where you protest it to be; we approve what ye blame, we honor what ye calumniate; and defy your ambitious arrogance to dictate, what shall be law and right for humanity.

But Sir: high though be the value of this noble approbation, I am honored with it, it becomes an invaluable benefit to all humanity by these resolutions by which the General Assembly of Ohio, acknowledging the justice of those principles, which it is my mission to plead in my downtrodden country's name— declares the mighty and flourishing commonwealth of Ohio resolved to restore the eternal laws of nations to their due sway, too long condemned by arbitrary violence.

It was indeed a sorrowful sight to see, how nations bled, and how freedom withered, between the iron grasp of despots, leagued for universal oppression of all humanity. It was a sorrowful sight to see, that there is no power on earth ready to maintain those eternal laws without which there is no security for whatever (any) nation on earth. It was a sorrowful sight, to see all nations isolating themselves in defense while despots were leagued in offense.

The view has changed: A bright lustre is spreading over the dark sky of humanity. The glorious galaxy of the United States rises with imposing brightness over the horizon of oppressed nations; and the bloody star of despotism, by your very declarations fading in its flame, will soon vanish from the sky like a meteor.

Legislators of Ohio: It may be flattering to ambitious vanity to act the part of an execrated conquerer, but it is a glory unparalleled in history to protect right and freedom on earth.

The time draws near when by the virtue of such a declaration like yours by your sister states, Europe's liberated nations will unite in a mighty choir of Allelujah, thanking God, that His paternal cares have raised the United States to the glorious position of a first born son of freedom on earth.

Washington prophesied that within twenty years, the Republic of the United States will be strong enough to defy any power on earth in a just cause.

The State of Ohio was yet unborn when the wisest of men and the purest of patriots told that prophecy.

And God the Almighty made the prophecy true, by annexing in a prodigiously short period more states to the proud constellation of your Republic; and increasing the lustre of every star more powerfully, than Washington could have anticipated in the brightest moments of his patriotic hopes.

There is a destiny in this: And you are conscious of this destiny. My sad heart, though depressed by sickness, is beating with resolution and with hope. Rejoice, oh my nation in thy very woes; wipe off thy tears, and smile amidst thy tortures, like the Dutch hero, De Wyt; there is a providence which rules! Thou wast, oh my nation often the martyr, who by thy blood redeemed the Christian nations on earth: even thy present nameless woes are providential; they were necessary that the Star spangled banner of America should rise over a new Sinai, the mountain of law for all nations; thy sufferings were necessary, that the people of the United States, powerful by their freedom, and free by the principle of national independence, that common right of all humanity, stand up a new Moses, upon the new Sinai and shout out with the thundering voice of its twenty-five millions: "Hear ye despots of the world: Henceforward this shall be law in the sight of the Lord, your God and our God."

"Ye shall not kill nations

"Ye shall not steal their freedom

"And ye shall not covet what your neighbor's is."

Hungary is a Golgotha where my people is nailed to the cross, that America may proclaim that law, to the benefit of all humanity. But the cross is not the emblem of death, it is the sign of resurrection and of bliss.

My nation will rise, it will not lie in its grave longer than the holy number "three," called to resurrection by the eternal principles of the law of nature and of nature's God, which you thus proclaim, and will requite your magnanimity by becoming the cornerstone of national independence on the European continent.

Sir! there are two remarkable coincidences in all these facts.

The State of Ohio and myself we have the same age. The very year when your constitution was framed, I was born. My breast has always heaved with intense interest at the name of Ohio; it was like as if something of supreme importance lay hidden for me in that name; to which my future was bound by the very year of my nativity. — This day my anticipations are realized.

And the second coincidence is; that the tidings of the present day will just reach Washington City when the Senators of the United States sit down in judgment about the question of international law;—and pronounce about your country's foreign policy.

Ohio has given its vote, by the Resolutions I had the honor to hear. And Ohio is one of the brightest stars of the Union. Ohio's vote is the vote of two millions. It will have its constitutional weight in the councils where the delegates of the People's Sovereignty, find their glory in doing the People's will.

Sir; it will be a day of consolation and joy in Hungary, when my bleeding nation reads these resolutions, which I will send to her;—they will spread like a lightning over the gloomy land; and my nation unbroken in courage, steady in resolution, firm in confidence will draw still more courage, more resolution, more confidence from them; because it is well aware that the Legislature of Ohio would never pledge a word of which it were not sure, that the people of Ohio, will be in case of need as good as that word.

Sir: I regret that my sickness disables me to express my fervent thanks in a manner more becoming to this assembly's dignity. I beg to be excused for it; but humbly beg you to believe, that my nation forever and I for all my life, will cherish the memory of this benefit with everlasting gratitude.

FORTS MIAMI AND FORT INDUSTRY.

With Mention of Other Forts in and Near the Maumee River Basin.

BY CHARLES E. SLOCUM, M. D., PH. D., DEFIANCE, OHIO.

There were at least five forts, or stockades of defense, in the "Territory Northwest of the Ohio River" in its earlier history, that were called Fort Miami, namely:

1. The first one was built in November, 1679, by René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle by the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, on rising ground near its mouth. (*Parkman's La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, page 149.) The builders were few in number, and their work was well advanced after twenty days, so it could not have been much of a fort; but it served its purpose. Evidently it served as a shelter, also, for the Aborigines thereabouts, and the occasional French wanderer through its vicinity, for several years; for Charlevoix wrote "I left yesterday (16th September, 1721,) the Fort of St. Joseph River * *"

2. The second Fort Miami was built by order of the French Governor of Canada in the year 1686 (*Harper's Ency. U. S. His.*, vol ix, page 486. *Paris Doc. V*, *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. ix, page 569), on the right bank of the River St. Mary, within the limits of the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana. When visited by M. de Celoron's expedition in September, 1749, the buildings of this fort were small and in poor condition. The stockade timbers were rotten and falling. "Within there were eight houses, — or, to speak more correctly, eight miserable huts, which only the desire of making money could render enduring." The twenty-two French occupants were all afflicted with fever. This fort was soon thereafter abandoned. (*Jesuit Relations*, vol. lxix, page 189.)

3. The third fort of this name was built to replace No. 2. It was located on the left bank of the River St. Joseph of the Maumee, not far above its mouth, "a scant league," say two miles

or less, from No. 2, and also within the present City of Fort Wayne. It was built in 1749-50 by Commandant Raimond who thought it advisable at that time to abandon Fort Miami No. 2 for the more desirable site by the St. Joseph.

Fort Miami No. 3 was surrendered to the British at the time of their conquest of the French in 1760; and its small British garrison was captured by the sympathizers with Pontiac in 1763. It was then abandoned as a military post, but the buildings were occupied by French traders and Aborigines until they were decayed and more desirable ones were obtained.

4. A small body of United States troops in passing along the Ohio River about the year 1790, stopped a short time just below the mouth of the Little Miami River. Their camp, hastily protected by logs as was usual by soldiers and even families in those days of prowling hostile savages, was called Fort Miami.

5. The strongest of all forts of the name Miami, including the buildings, garrison and equipment, was built by the British in the spring of 1794 about two miles below the lowest rapids and on the left bank of the Maumee River, the site being within the limits of the present Village of Maumee. This was a wide invasion of United States territory by the British for the purpose of opposing General Wayne's advance against the savages themselves directly, or for the better encouragement of the savages in their opposition. This fort was built according to the best military plans of that day with the material at hand; and was surrounded by a broad, deep ditch which was also protected. It was fully equipped with artillery, and its garrison in 1794 numbered several hundred men. General Wayne wisely decided not to attack it; but his reconnoiterings of the fort — "within pistol-shot" distance — would have brought disaster upon him had a less conservative and considerate officer than Major Campbell been in command.

According to the terms of the Jay Treaty this Fort Miami was surrendered to United States troops 11th July, 1796, together with Detroit and the other forts wrongfully held by the British in United States territory from the close of the Revolutionary War.

This Fort Miami is the first military post or station authoritatively mentioned as existing by the lower Maumee River. Mr. Knapp, in his *History of the Maumee Valley*, or the person from whom he copied, probably confused the Maumee with the Fort Miami No. 1, built by La Salle by the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, which he called the River of the Miamis. There has been a lamentable number of copyists, since the first confused statement, to place a Fort Miami on the lower Maumee in the year 1680.

There has also been much of conjecture with unauthoritative statements regarding Fort Industry, the site of which tradition places about the crossing of Summit and Monroe Streets in the present City of Toledo, Ohio. Henry Howe, in his *Historical Collections of Ohio* in 1846, also in his edition of 1896 volume ii, page 148, wrote that Fort Industry was "erected about the year 1800." H. S. Knapp, in his *History of the Maumee Valley*, 1872, page 93, wrote that it was built by order of General Wayne immediately after the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Neither of these writers give any authority; and their statements are negatively disproved by official records, as follows:

1. The Battle of Fallen Timbers occurred 20th August, 1794, and General Wayne's army was very busy caring for the wounded and dead, in searching the country for savages and in destroying their crops, during the two days before the countermarch began. The night of the 23rd, according to Lieutenant Boyer's Diary, the army bivouacked at Camp Deposit, Roche de Bout (not Roche de Bouef as written by some early chroniclers), and the morning of the 24th the march was continued up the Maumee River. This shows that there was not sufficient time between the Battle and the return march to build even a stockade, with all the other work on hand, and this, also immediately after the great excitements and exhaustions of the Battle.

2. No mention is made of Fort Industry, nor of building a post on the lower Maumee, in the Diary of General Wayne's Campaign, nor in the reports.

3. The report to General Wayne that on the 30th August, 1794, the British Agent, Alexander McKee, had gathered the Aborigines at the mouth of Swan Creek to feed and comfort

them ("fix them"), is also presumptive evidence against the existence there or thereabouts of an American fort or body of troops at that time. (*American State Papers, Aborigine Affairs*, vol. ii, page 526. Also McKee's letter to the British Colonel Richard England at Detroit.)

4. Timothy Pickering, then acting Secretary of War, reported to the Congressional Committee on the Military Establishment 3rd February, 1796, the names of the then existing Military Stations. In this list the name Fort Industry does not appear. The stations then existing in and near the Maumee region were Forts Defiance, Wayne, Miami, and Sandusky, all of which aggregated a force of one battalion of infantry, one company of riflemen, and one company of artillery at Fort Wayne which was the headquarters for these posts. Also Forts Adams, Recovery, Jefferson, Loramie, Head of Auglaize, and Greenville the headquarters, had one battalion of infantry and one company of riflemen divided among them.

5. The 29th March, 1796, James McHenry, Secretary of War, with his thoughts on economy, particularly "ought the military force of the United States to be diminished," gave to the before mentioned Committee the list of forts to be mentioned in this region, with the garrison each should have, as follows: Defiance, Wayne, Adams, Recovery, head of Wabash, [Auglaize?], Miami, and Michillimackinac, each fifty-six men, and Detroit 112 men. In these reports Forts Miami and Detroit were recognized as the property of the United States, but they were not evacuated by the British until the 11th July, 1796, according to the report of Lieutenant Colonel Hamtramck and others.

6. With the date of "War Department 23rd December, 1801, the estimate of all the Posts and Stations where Garrisons will be Expedient, and the number of men requisite for each garrison," does not contain the name Fort Industry.

7. An official statement of the reduced army under the Act of March, 1802, and its distribution 1st January, 1803, names Fort Wayne, with a garrison of sixty-four men, as being the only fortification or military station then in or near the Maumee region.

8. The report issued from "Head Quarters, Washington, February 4, 1805, for the year 1803, designating every post and point of occupancy," does not contain the name Fort Industry.

9. Nor does the name Fort Industry appear in the schedule of "Posts and places occupied by the Troops of the United States in the year 1804, taken from the latest returns, and designating every post and point of occupancy; to which is annexed the number wanting to complete the Peace Establishment." The only fort, or United States troops in the Maumee region at this date was at Fort Wayne with an aggregate garrison, October 31st, 1804, of sixty-eight men. (See *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, vol. ii, pages 113, 115, 156, 175, 176.)

In fact, the only authoritative statement that Fort Industry ever existed is the mere mention of it, "Fort Industry on the Miami of the Lake," as the place where was held an important treaty with Aborigines 4th July, 1805, (*American State Papers, Aborigine Affairs*, vol. i, page 695); nothing more, nothing before, and nothing after this date, so far as the writer has been able to find by several inquiries, in person and by letters, at the War Department, at the United States Library, and other large libraries; and there is nothing but tradition to designate its site within the limits of the present City of Toledo.

The negatives here adduced are equal to positives; hence we may rest with the belief that "Fort Industry" was little more than a stockade built hurriedly, industriously,—if a former stockade inclosure as a trading post there was not repaired instead—in the summer of 1805 solely for the treaty there held, and called a "Fort" to make it more impressive to the Aborigines. It was soon thereafter abandoned by the troops who were then necessarily present, as at former treaties.

The authenticity of the frontispiece to Knapp's *History of the Maumee Valley* is completely set aside in an editorial from the able pen of S. S. Knabenshue in the *Toledo Blade* of January 24th, 1903. O. J. Hopkins who drew this view and engraved it on wood, asserted that his drawing was without foundation, in fact, and purely a work of his fancy. And such is the case, also, with the "old painting in oil" that is sometimes referred to, and of many statements that have been written regarding this fort.

Before the grading for streets began, two prehistoric semi-circular earthworks, presumably for stockades, were surveyed in Toledo; one at the intersection of Clayton and Oliver Streets on the south bank of Swan Creek, and the other at Fassett and Fort Streets on the right bank of the Maumee. A third work of this character was recorded over fifty years ago by the late Colonel Charles Whittlesey as existing at Eagle Point about two miles up the river from the Fassett Street work.

From the early records we catch glimpses of different traders with the Aborigines along the lower Maumee River; and there can be no doubt that stockades were employed for the protection of their goods and peltries, from the beginning of the 18th century, or before.

OLD FORT INDUSTRY.

BY S. S. KNABENSHUE.

[Editorial in Toledo Blade, January 24, 1903. — E. O. R.]

Fort Industry existed: that is, there are men still living who can recall its remains. But that is all we know about it. In boyhood, they saw the clay bluff, afterward cut down, which occupied the site of the block bounded by Summit, Water, Monroe and Jefferson streets. On its summit, some six or eight doors north of Monroe street, was an excavation which had apparently been a cellar under a cabin, and at least one citizen recalls that a few of the old uprights of the stockade remained in his boyish days.

The date of its erection, by whom, and for what purpose, have never been determined. The tablet on the Monroe street side of Fort Industry block recites the popular legend; but no historic proof of the statements has ever been found. One of the most persistent searchers for the truth of history in the Maumee Valley is Dr. Charles E. Slocum, of Defiance. Elsewhere in this issue of The Blade, we give a communication from him which recites all the proved historic facts regarding Fort Industry. It is a valuable contribution to local history, which we are glad to present to the people of this city and of Northwestern Ohio.

The conclusion of Dr. Slocum as to the date of and motive for its erection is hypothetical, of course: but it is the only hypothesis yet advanced which fits in with the negative evidence against the popular tradition and the assertions of historical compilers — not investigators — regarding the matter, like Howe and Knapp. Unless a statement can be proved, it should not be written up as a fact, and both these historians committed this error. Legend is not history.

Another fact, to which Dr. Slocum does not refer, is that no authoritative picture of Fort Industry exists. Several years ago the writer endeavored to find out all that he could concern-

ing this point. The frontispiece of Knapp's History of the Maumee Valley is what purports to be a view of Fort Industry. It represents a high clay bluff, rising steeply from the shore of the Maumee, seamed by rains, and crowned, on its summit, by a stockade, at one corner of which is a typical log blockhouse, like the old one still standing on Bois Blanc Island, in the Detroit river, near its mouth.

The engraving bears in one lower corner the name of O. J. Hopkins — better known, perhaps, as the late Colonel Hopkins, whose death by accident occurred in Columbus a few months ago. In his earlier years he was a draughtsman and a wood engraver. He was asked as to his authority for the picture. His reply was, in effect, that he was asked to make it as a frontispiece for the Knapp book; that he found no picture of it was in existence, nor could he find any description of it, or any one who had seen it when it was intact; hence, he made a picture of it as he supposed it might be. When asked why he placed a blockhouse in it, he replied that he supposed that was the regular thing at such posts.

It is not at all probable there was any blockhouse. The "fort" was a simple stockade, made of logs planted vertically in the ground, and with one or more log houses in it to serve the purposes of the detachment of soldiers who were here temporarily.

THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE.

[The following article comprising the statement of facts, and the reprint of the wording of the treaty, was prepared by Frazer E. Wilson of Greenville, Ohio. The material is found largely in his little book, "The Treaty of Greenville." The reproduction of the signatures and the symbol signs inscribed by the chiefs to the treaty is from a photograph in exact size taken from the treaty itself, now carefully preserved in the archives at Washington, D. C. The photograph was taken by permission of the government authorities for the purposes of exhibition at the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the treaty, held at Greenville, Ohio, on August 3, 1895. This is the only time a photograph has been made from the original and the photograph is now in the possession of Hon. A. C. Robeson, Greenville, Ohio, by whose consent we have been able to produce the fac similes of the signatures. — E. O. R.]

After the battle on the Maumee, the Indians of the Northwest still hesitated to seek peace. The British agents, Simcoe, McKee, and Brant, stimulated them to continue hostilities. They strengthened their fort near the rapids, supplied the Indians from their magazines, called a council, and urged the Indians to propose a truce or suspension of hostilities until spring, in order to deceive the Americans, that they might neglect to keep sufficient troops to retain their position. They also advised the savages to convey their lands to the King in trust, so as to give the British a pretext for assisting them, and, in case the Americans refused to abandon all their posts and possessions on the west side of the Ohio, to make a general attack and drive them across that river. Brant also told them to keep a good heart; that he would return home, for the present, with his warriors, and come again in the spring, with a larger force, "to fight, kill and pursue the Americans." He also "advised them to amuse the Americans with a prospect of peace, until the tribes should collect in force to fall upon them early in the spring, and when least expected."

Notwithstanding all these preparations, the Indians began to understand their critical condition, and to lose faith in the British. Information was received from Kaskaskia, that they

were crossing the Mississippi every day, and despaired of withstanding the Americans.

The humane disposition of the victors, however, finally won their confidence, and, on the 28th and 29th of December, the chiefs of several tribes manifested their desire for peace to the commandant at Fort Wayne. Proceeding to Fort Greene Ville, representatives of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawattomies, and Miamis entered, together with the Shawanese, Delawares, and Wyandots, into preliminary articles with General Wayne on the 24th of January, 1795. The first article provided, "that, until articles for a permanent peace shall be adjusted, agreed to, and signed, all hostilities shall cease, and the aforesaid sachems, and war chiefs, for and in behalf of the nations which they represent, do agree to meet the above named plenipotentiary of the United States, at Greene Ville, on or about the 15th day of June next, with all the sachems and war chiefs of their nations, then and there to consult and conclude upon such terms of amity and peace as shall be for the interest and to the satisfaction of both parties." Article two provided for the prompt report of any meditated or attempted hostilities of any nation or tribe, against any post or settlement, to the commander in chief, or to the officer commanding troops of the United States at the nearest post, should it come to the knowledge of the nations above mentioned. Also, that the commander in chief, and his subordinate officers, should do likewise on behalf of the said Indian Nations.

For the next few months prisoners were exchanged, and the Indians were preparing to meet in June as agreed. Early in that month a large number of Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawattomies, and Eel River Indians, arrived at Greene Ville. These were the chief men, the scions of many a proud and noted tribe. Some had met in former treaties with the United States, many had helped to rout the unfortunate army of St. Clair in 1791, and all had suffered a telling defeat at the hands of the Americans the summer previous. Let us picture to ourselves the scene and the occasion and then listen to some of the words of the principal participants. The council fire was kindled on the 16th of June and around its sacred embers gathered a picturesque group of frontier soldiers, scouts, spies, interpreters and officers. We note

especially the faces of Wayne, and W. H. Harrison, his aide, of Wells, Miller and Zane the scouts, and a coterie of French Canadian interpreters. Without the council house and beyond the artillery park and parade ground appear the long and regular rows of soldier's cabins and beyond these, on all sides, the log palisades and guarded bastions of the frontier fort. Gen. Wayne has extended a cordial greeting in these words: "I have cleared this ground of all brush and rubbish, and opened roads to the east, to the west, to the north, and to the south, that all nations may come in safety and ease to meet me. The ground on which the council house stands is unstained with blood, and is as pure as the heart of General Washington, the great chief of America, and of his great council — as pure as my heart, which now wishes for nothing so much as peace and brotherly love. I have this day kindled the council fire of the United States; we will now cover it up, and keep it alive, until the remainder of the different tribes assemble, and form a full meeting and representation. I now deliver to each tribe present a string of white wampum, to serve as record of the friendship that is this day commenced between us."

For several weeks the chiefs and warriors kept dropping in, a few at a time from their distant homes on the Wabash, the Maumee, and the lake region farther north. They expressed sentiments of peace and on the 15th of July, the general, after explaining his commission urged the last treaty with St. Clair at Ft. Harmar as a basis of lasting peace and advised them to deliberate a few days. The fire was then raked up and the council adjourned to the 18th. On that day the Little Turtle observed that the treaty at Ft. Harmar "was effected altogether by the Six Nations, who seduced some of our young men to attend it, together with a few of the Chippewas, Wyandots, Ottawas, Delawares, and Pottawattomies," and "that he was entirely ignorant of what was done at that treaty." Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish also stated that he "knew nothing of the treaty in question" on account of his remote situation on Lake Michigan. Tarke (or Crane), the Wyandot chief, arose and remarked that he wished it to be determined what nation should speak, and that a day be appointed when all present, together with those on the way, should meet.

The General answered that he had paid attention to their remarks, and that he would endeavor to fully explain to them, two days hence, the treaty of Muskingum, (Ft. Harmar), of which so many plead ignorance. Also, that he would recall to "the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies, and Sac nations, what they did at that treaty," and show the names of those who witnessed it. Council adjourned to meet on the 20th.

On the evening of the 18th, Blue Jacket and thirteen Shawanese, and Massas with twenty Chippewas, arrived, and were received into the council house. When the council opened on the 20th, the Shawanese and Chippewas were present in addition to the rest, and the General read to them his message to the hostile Indians on the 13th of August, 1794. He also read and explained the treaty of Fort Harmar, and pointed out a number of chiefs who were present and signed both that and the treaty of Fort McIntosh, and asked them to consider seriously what he had said, and upon their next meeting, make known their thoughts. After Pe-ke-te-le-mund, a Delaware chief, and Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish had spoken, the council adjourned, and on the 21st Massas spoke in behalf of the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawattomies. He spoke in favor of peace, and stated that the Three Fires which he represented had poor interpreters at the treaty of Muskingum, and that if their uncles, the Wyandots, and grandfathers, the Delawares, had received presents and compensation, they were never informed of it. Tarke, Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, the General, and Massas then made some remarks. On Wednesday, the 22nd, the tall and crafty Mishikinakwa, the Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis, who had led in the attack on St. Clair, arose and said: "General Wayne! I hope you will pay attention to what I now say to you. I wish to inform you where my younger brothers, the Miamis, live, and also the Pottawattomies of St. Joseph, together with the Wabash Indians. You have pointed out to us the boundary line between the Indians and the United States; but I now take the liberty to inform you that that line cuts off from the Indians a large portion of country which has been enjoyed by my fore-fathers, time immemorial, without molestation or dispute. The prints of my ancestor's houses are

everywhere to be seen in this portion. I was a little astonished at hearing you and my brothers who are now present, telling each other what business you had transacted together, heretofore, at Muskingum, concerning this country. It is well known that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the headwaters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago, on Lake Michigan. At this place I first saw my elder brothers, the Shawanese. I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami nation, where the great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago and charged him not to sell, or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me. I was much surprised to hear that my brothers differed so much from me on this subject; for their conduct would lead me to suppose that the Great Spirit, and their forefathers, had not given them the same charge that was given to me; but on the contrary, had directed them to sell their lands to any white man who wore a hat, as soon as he should ask it of them. Now, elder brother, your younger brothers, the Miamis, have pointed out to you their country; and also to our brothers present. When I hear your remarks and proposals on this subject, I will be ready to give an answer. I came with an expectation of hearing you say good things, but I have not yet heard what I expected.

"Brothers, the Indians! I expected, in this council that our minds would have been made up, and that we should speak with one voice. I am sorry to observe that you are rather unsettled and hasty in your conduct."

The bare record of these words is scarcely sufficient to impress the reader as they must have impressed the council. We must imagine them delivered with gestures similar to those used lately by an old chief in the far northwest which a witness describes as follows: "With a sweep of his outstretched arm he described the lands over which his forefathers had roamed; a pinch of earth between his thumb and finger what was left to him and his. A few kernels rattled in a pod typified the Indians remaining; a cloud of white winged seed shaken upon the evening breeze symbolized the coming race."

After the great chief had spoken, Tarke, the Wyandot, arose and said that the ground belonged to the Great Spirit above, and that they all had an equal right to it; that he always considered the treaty of Muskingum (Ft. Harmar) as founded upon the fairest principles, as being binding upon the Indians and the United States alike; and that peace was now desired by all.

On the 23rd Blue Jacket, A-goosh-a-way, an Ottawa chief, Massas, Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, and New Corn addressed the council and showed a desire to bury the hatchet. On the 24th, Blue Jacket opened the council and was followed by the General, who addressed the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattomies, the claimants of the land sold to the United States at the last treaty, for which they said that they had not been compensated. He remarked that it was always the intention of the United States "that the true owners of those lands should receive full compensation for them;" that if they had not received a due proportion of the goods delivered at that time, it was not the fault of the United States; and, that notwithstanding these lands had been twice paid for, once at Ft. McIntosh, and again at Ft. Harmar, yet the United States would be liberal enough to pay for them again. He then addressed the Miamis: "Brothers, the Miamis! I have paid attention to what the Little Turtle said, two days since, concerning the lands which he claims. He said his father first kindled the fire at Detroit and stretched his line from thence to the headwaters of the Scioto; thence down the same to the Ohio; thence down that river to the mouth of the Wabash, and from thence to Chicago, on the southwest end of lake Michigan; and observed that his forefathers had enjoyed that country, undisturbed, from time immemorial.

"Brothers! These boundaries enclose a very large space of country indeed; they embrace, if I mistake not, all the lands on which all the nations now present live, as well as those which have been ceded to the United States. The lands which have been ceded have within these three days been acknowledged by the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies, Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanese. The little Turtle says the prints of his forefathers' houses are everywhere to be seen within these boundaries. Younger brother! it is true these prints are to be observed, but

at the same time we discover the marks of French possessions throughout this country, which were established long before we were born. These have since been in the possession of the British, who must, in their turn, relinquish them to the United States, when they, the French and the Indians, will be all as one people.

"I will point out to you a few places where I discover strong traces of these establishments; and first of all, I find at Detroit, a very strong print, where the fire was first kindled by your fore-fathers; next at Vincennes on the Wabash; again at Musquiton, on the same river; a little higher up on that stream, they are to be seen at Ouitanon. I discover another strong trace at Chicago; another on the St. Joseph's, of Lake Michigan. I have seen quite distinctly, the prints of a French and of a British post, at the Miami villages, and of a British post at the foot of the Rapids, now in their possession. Prints, very conspicuous, are on the Great Miami, which were possessed by the French, forty-five years ago; and another trace, is very distinctly to be seen at Sandusky.

"It appears to me, that if the Great Spirit, as you say, charged your fore-fathers to preserve their lands entire, for their posterity, they have paid very little regard to the sacred injunction, for I see they have parted with those lands to your fathers the French — and the English are now, or have been, in possession of them all: therefore, I think the charge urged against the Ottawas, Chippewas and other Indians, comes with a bad grace indeed from the very people who perhaps, set them the example. The English and French both wore hats; and yet your fore-fathers sold them, at various times, portions of your lands. However, as I have already observed, you shall now receive from the United States further valuable compensation for the lands you have ceded to them by former treaties.

"Younger brothers! I will now inform you who it was who gave us these lands in the first instance;— it was your fathers the British, who did not discover that care for your interests which you ought to have experienced. This is the treaty of peace, made between the United States of America and Great Britain, twelve years ago, at the end of a long and bloody war, when the French and Americans proved too powerful for the British; on these

terms they obtained peace. (Here part of the treaty of 1783 was read.)

"Here you perceive, that all the country south of the great lakes has been given up to America; but the United States never intended to take that advantage of you, which the British placed in their hands; they wish you to enjoy your just rights, without interruption, and to promote your happiness. The British stipulated to surrender to us all the posts on this side of the boundary agreed on. I told you some days ago, that treaties should ever be sacredly fulfilled by those who make them; but the British, on their part, did not find it convenient to relinquish those posts as soon as they should have done; however, they now find it so, and a precise period is fixed for their delivery. I have now in my hands the copy of a treaty, made eight months since, between them and us, of which I shall read you a little. (First and second articles of Mr. Jay's treaty read.)

"By this solemn agreement they promise to retire from Michilimackinac, Fort St. Clair, Detroit, Niagara, and all other places on this side of the lakes, and leave the same to the full and quiet possession of the United States.

"Brothers! All nations present, now listen to me!

"Having now explained those matters to you and informed you of all things I judged necessary for your information, we have nothing to do but to bury the hatchet, and draw a veil over past misfortunes. As you have buried our dead with the concern of brothers, so I now collect the bones of your slain warriors, put them into a deep pit which I have dug, and cover them carefully over with this large belt, there to remain undisturbed. I also dry the tears from your eyes, and wipe the blood from your bodies, with this soft, white linen. No bloody traces will ever lead to the graves of your departed heroes; with this I wipe all such away. I deliver it to your uncle, the Wyandot, who will send it round amongst you. (A large belt, with a white string attached.)

"I now take the hatchet out of your hands, and with a strong arm, throw it into the centre of the great ocean, where no mortal can ever find it; and I now deliver to you the wide and straight path to the fifteen fires, to be used by you and your posterity,

forever. So long as you continue to follow this road, so long will you continue to be a happy people. You see it is straight and wide, and they will be blind indeed, who deviate from it. I place it also in your uncle's hands, for you. (A large road belt.)

"I will, the day after to-morrow, show you the cessions which you have made to the United States, and point out to you the lines which may, for the future, divide your lands from theirs; and as you will have to-morrow to rest, I will order you a double allowance of drink, because we have now buried the hatchet and performed every necessary ceremony, to render propitious, our renovated friendship."

Discussion and explanation continued until the 3rd of August.

On that day the council assembled to sign the treaty. General Wayne again read his commissions and explained his authority for holding the same, said that he had fulfilled his instructions, and then read for the third time the articles of the treaty which had been engrossed. The chiefs then signed and were informed that one part should be delivered to the Wyandots for preservation, the other, to the Great Chief, General Washington, and that in addition each nation should receive one copy; also, that the goods to be given them would now be apportioned and delivered in a few days.

The Indians remained a few days at Greene Ville for the distribution of presents; speeches were delivered and the calumet of peace was finally passed to those who had not yet smoked it. Thus was consummated a treaty of far reaching importance concerning the effectiveness of which Rufus King, the historian, testifies — "Never after that treaty, to their honor be it remembered, did the Indian nations violate the limits which it established. It was a grand tribute to General Wayne that no chief or warrior who gave him the hand at Greene Ville ever after 'lifted the hatchet' against the United States. There were malcontents on the Wabash and Lake Michigan who took sides with Tecumseh and the Prophet in the war of 1812, perhaps for good cause, but the tribes and their chiefs sat still."

The number of the different nations at and parties to the treaty were as follows: Wyandots, 180; Delawares, 381; Shaw-

anese, 143; Ottawas, 45; Chippewas, 46; Pottawattomies, 240; Miamis, and Eel Rivers, 73; Weas and Piankeshaws, 12; Kickapoos and Kaskaskias, 10; making a total of 1130.

The treaty was neatly engrossed on three pieces of parchment 26 inches wide and from 25 to 31 inches long. It reads as follows:

GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

To all to whom these presents shall come — Greeting.

WHEREAS, a Treaty of peace and friendship between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Putawatimes, Miamis, Eel River, Weea's, Kickapoos, Piankashaws and Kaskaskias was made and concluded on the third day of August one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five by Anthony Wayne, Major-General commanding the Army of the United States, duly authorized thereto, on the one part, and the Sachems and war chiefs of the beforementioned Nations and Tribes of Indians whose names are thereunto signed on the other part which Treaty is in the form and words following, viz:

A TREATY OF PEACE between the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA and the Tribes of INDIANS called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottowas, Chippewas, Putawatimes, Miamis, Eel River, Weea's Kickapoos, Piankashaws and Kaskaskias.

To put an end to a destructive war to settle all controversies and to restore harmony and a friendly intercourse between the said United States and Indian Tribes, Anthony Wayne, Major-General commanding the Army of the United States and sole Commissioner for the good purposes above mentioned, and the said tribes of Indians, by their Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors met together at Greene Ville the Head Quarters of the said Army have agreed on the following Articles, which when ratified by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States shall be binding on them and the said Indian Tribes.

"ARTICLE 1ST. Henceforth all hostilities shall cease; peace is hereby established, and shall be perpetual; and a friendly inter-

course shall take place between the said United States and Indian Tribes.

"ARTICLE 2ND. All prisoners shall, on both sides, be restored. The Indians, prisoners to the United States, shall be immediately set at liberty. The people of the United States, still remaining prisoners among the Indians, shall be delivered up in ninety days from the date hereof, to the General or commanding officer at Greene Ville, Fort Wayne, or Fort Defiance; and ten chiefs of said tribes shall remain at Greene Ville as hostages until the delivery of the prisoners shall be effected.

"ARTICLE 3RD. The general boundary line, between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, and run thence up the same, to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence, down that branch to the crossing place, above Fort Lawrence; thence Westerly, to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami River running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio, and St. Mary's River, which is a branch of the Miami, which runs into Lake Erie; thence, a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence, South Westerly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river, opposite the mouth of the Kentucke, or Cuttawa river. And in consideration of the peace now established, of the goods formerly received from the United States, of those now to be delivered, and of the yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter, and to indemnify the United States for the injuries and expences they have sustained during the War, the said Indian tribes do hereby cede and relinquish forever, all their claims to the lands lying Eastwardly and Southwardly of the general boundary line, now described; and these lands, or any part of them, shall never hereafter be made a cause or pretence, on the part of said Indian Tribes, or any of them, of war or injury to the United States, or any of the people thereof.

"And for the same considerations, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommoda-

tion, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also Cede to the United States, the following pieces of land, to wit: 1. One piece of land, six miles square, at or near Loramie's store; before mentioned. 2. One piece two miles square, at the head of the navigable water or landing on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's Town. 3. One piece six miles square, at the head of the navigable water of the Au Glaize River. 4. One piece six miles square, at the confluence of the Au Glaize and Miami Rivers, where Fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece six miles square, at or near the confluence of the Rivers St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the Lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. 7. One piece six miles square, at the Ouiatenon, or old Wee'a Towns, on the Wabash river. 8. One piece twelve miles square, at the British fort, on the Miami of the Lake, at the foot of the rapids. 9. One piece six miles square, at the mouth of the said River, where it empties into the Lake. 10. One piece six miles square upon Sandusky Lake where a Fort formerly stood. 11. One piece two miles square at the lower rapids of Sandusky River. 12. The Post of Detroit, and all the lands to the North, the West, and the South of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English Governments; and so much more land, to be annexed to the district of Detroit, as shall be comprehended between the River Rosine, on the South, Lake St. Clair, on the North, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the West end of Lake Erie and Detroit river. 13. The Post of Michilimackinac, and all the land on the Island on which that Post stands, and the main land adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by Gifts or grants to the French or English Governments; and a piece of land on the main, to the north of the Island, to measure six miles on Lake Huron, or the Streight between Lake Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water of the Lake or Streight; and, also the Island de Bois Blanc, being an extra and Voluntary gift of the

Chippewa Nation. 14. One piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of the Chikago River, emptying into the South West end of Lake Michigan where a Fort formerly stood. 15. One piece twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of the Illinois River, emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece six miles square, at the old Piorias fort and Village, near the South end of the Illinois Lake, on said Illinois River. And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said Tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs, to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of this treaty.

"And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States, a free passage by land and by Water, as one and the other shall be found convenient thro their Country, along the chain of Posts herein before mentioned; that is to say, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, at or near Loramie's store, thence along said portage to the St. Mary's, and down the same to Fort Wayne, and then down the Miami to Lake Erie—again, from the commencement of the portage at or near Loramie's store, along the portage from thence to the river Au Glaize, and down the same to its junction with the Miami at Fort Defiance; again, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, to Sandusky River, and down the same to Sandusky bay and Lake Erie, and from Sandusky to the post which shall be taken at or near the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the Lake; and from thence to Detroit—again, from the mouth of the Chikago, to the commencement of the portage, between that River and the Illinois, and down the Illinois River to the Mississippi—also, from Fort Wayne, along the portage aforesaid, which leads to the Wabash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio—and the said Indian tribes will, also, allow to the people of the United States, the free use of the harbours and mouths of Rivers along the Lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering Vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes where necessary for their Safety.

"ARTICLE 4TH. In consideration of the peace, now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of lands made in the preceding article by the said tribes of Indians, and to manifest

the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquish their claims to all other Indian lands, Northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the Great Lakes, and the waters uniting them; according to the boundary line agreed on by the United States and King of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace, made between them in the Year 1783. But, from this relinquishment by the United States, the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted. 1st. The Tract of One hundred and fifty thousand acres, near the rapids of the Ohio, which has been assigned to General Clark, for the use of himself and his Warriors. 2d. The post of St. Vincennes, on the river Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished. 3rd. The lands at all other places in possession of the French people, and other white Settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished, as mentioned in the 3rd Article. And 4th, the Post of Fort Massac, towards the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of lands, so excepted, the said tribes relinquish all the title and Claim which they or any of them may have.

“And for the same considerations, and with the same Views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes, a quantity of goods, to the value of Twenty thousand Dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforth, every year, forever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars; reckoning that value at the first cost of the Goods in the city or place, in the United States, where they shall be procured. The tribes to which these goods are to be annually delivered, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered, are the following: 1st. To the Wyandots, the amount of one thousand dollars. 2nd. To the Delawares, the amount of one thousand dollars. 3rd. To the Shawanoes, the amount of one thousand dollars. 4th. To the Miamis, the amount of one thousand dollars. 5th. To the Ottawas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 6th. To the Chippewas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 7th. To the Putawatimes,

the amount of one thousand dollars. 8th. And to the Kickapoo, Weea, Eel River, Piankashaw, and Kaskaskias tribes, the amount of five hundred dollars, each. Provided, that if either of the said tribes shall, hereafter, at an annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other Utensils convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers, who may reside with, or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual deliveries, be furnished accordingly.

"ARTICLE 5TH. To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States in the fourth article, it is now explicitly declared, that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: The Indian tribes who have a right to those lands, are to quietly enjoy them, hunting, planting and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands, against all Citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes, again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the Said United States, and no other power whatever.

"ARTICLE 6TH. If any Citizen of the United States, or any other white person or persons, shall presume to settle upon the lands, now relinquished by the United States, such citizen or other person shall be out of the protection of the United States; and the Indian tribe, on whose land the Settlement shall be made, may drive off the Settler, or punish him in such manner as they shall think fit; and because such settlements, made without the consent of the United States, will be injurious to them, as well as to the Indians; the United States shall be at liberty to break them up, and remove and punish the settlers as they shall think proper, and so effect that protection of the Indian lands hereinbefore stipulated.

"ARTICLE 7TH. The said tribes of Indians, parties to this Treaty, shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United States.

"ARTICLE 8TH. Trade shall be opened with the said Indian tribes; and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to such persons, with their property, as shall be duly licensed to reside among them, for the purpose of trade, and to their Agents and Servants; but no person shall be permitted to reside at any of their towns or hunting camps, as a trader, who is not furnished with a license for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the superintendent of the Department northwest of the Ohio, or such other person as the President of the United States shall authorize to grant such licenses, to the end that the said Indians may not be imposed on in their trade. And, if any licensed trader shall abuse his privilege by unfair dealing, upon complaint and proof thereof, his license shall be taken from him, and he shall be further punished according to the laws of the United States. And if any person shall intrude himself as a trader, without such license, the said Indians shall take and bring him before the superintendent, or his deputy, to be dealt with according to law; and, to prevent impositions by forged licenses, the said Indians shall at least once a year, give information to the superintendent, or his deputies, of the names of the traders residing among them.

"ARTICLE 9TH. Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States and the said Indian tribes agree that, for injuries done by individuals, on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured, to the other, by the said Indian tribes, or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the Superintendent by him appointed; and by the Superintendent or other person appointed by the President, to the principle chiefs of the said Indian tribes, or of the tribe to which the offender belongs, and such prudent measures shall then be pursued, as shall be necessary to preserve the said peace and

friendship unbroken, until the Legislature (or Great Council) of the United States shall make other equitable provision in the case, to the satisfaction of both parties—should any Indian tribes meditate a War against the United States, or either of them and the same shall come to the knowledge of the before mentioned tribes or either of them they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof to the General or Officer commanding the troops of the United States, at the nearest post. And should any tribe, with hostile intentions against the United States, or either of them, attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same, and in like manner give information of such attempt, to the general, of officer commanding, as soon as possible, that all causes of Mistrust and Suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States. In like manner, the United States shall give notice to the said Indian tribes of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come to their knowledge, and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the Friendship between them may be Uninterrupted.

,"ARTICLE IOTH. All other Treaties heretofore made between the United States and the said Indian tribes, or any of them, since the treaty of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain, that come within the purview of this treaty, shall henceforth cease, and become Void.

"In testimony whereof, the said Anthony Wayne, and the Sachems and War Chiefs of the before mentioned nations and tribes of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

"Done at Greene Ville, in the Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio, on the third day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

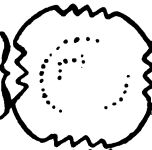



WYANDOTS.

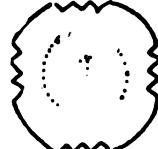
DELAWARE.

Moses.

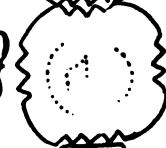
M



Mis-gua. Coo-na.  cam-
(or red pole).



Cut-the. wa-ka. fau-
(or black roof).



Kay-fe. wa. efe. kah-
t

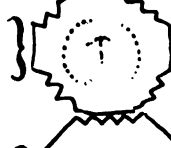


SHAWANOES.

Wey-tha-pa-mat. tha-
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Nia. nym-fe. ka 



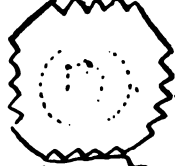







Way-the. ah.
(or long shanks)



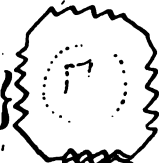
Wey a pier-fon-waw.
(or blue jacket.)



DELAWARES.

Bu-kon-ge-he-las.	↓		
Pee-kee-lund	T		
Welle-law-kee-lund	○		
Pee-kee-té-munda. (or Thomas Adams)	↗		
Kish-ko-pe-kund (or Captain Buffalo)	○		
Ame-na-he-hans. (or Captain Crow.)	↘		
Que-Shaw-ky (or George Washington)	M		
Wey-Win-quis (or Billy Becomb.)	T		

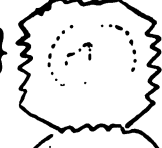
WYANDOTS.

Sha-toy-up-con-yah.
(or leather lips)

Dough Shut-tay-ah



Sha-aw-run-the

Teta-boksh-ke.
(or Grand Glaizes King)Le-man-tan-guis.
(or black King)

Ma-bat-thoe

Magh-pi-way
(or red feather)Rik-tha-we-mund
(or Anderson.)

DELAWARES.

MIAMIS AND EEL RIVER.	Pea-jee-wa. (or Richardville)	X	
	Coch-ke-pogh-Togh.	}	
	(Eel river tribe) of Sha-me-keun-re-fa. (or Soldier)	}	
	(miamis) Wa-pa-man-gwa. (or the white loon)	+	
WEEAS FOR THEMSELVES AND THE PLANKESHAW.	A-ma-cun-fa. (or little beaver)		
	A-coo-la-tha. (or little fox.)	+	
	Francis.		

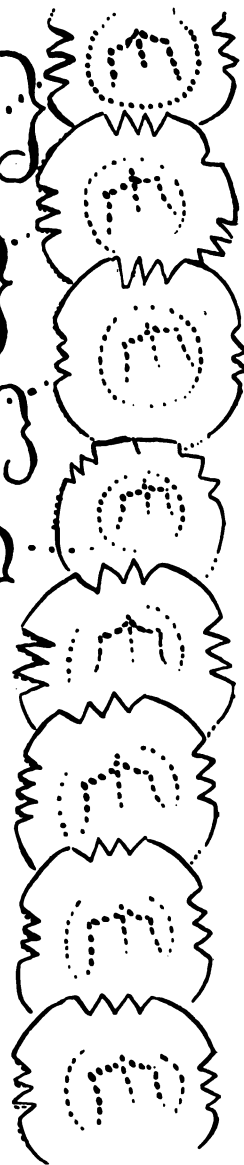
DELAWARES OF SANDUSKY. KICKAPOOS AND KASKASKIAS.

Kee-aw-hah. †








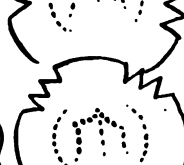



No-nugh-ka. †
(John Reynolds)
 Pai-kee-ka-nogh.

Haw-kin-pum-is-ka

Pay-a-mawk-sey.

Reyn-two-co †
 1 of the Six Nations
 living at Sandusky.

PUTAWATAMES OF THE RIVER SAINT JOSEPH.

Me she-ge, the noth. (for himself and brother Wa-wal-lek)		}	
Hen-go-fuwash	-----	}	
A-ne-wa-faw)	}	
Kaw-budgh	!	}	
Mif-fe-no-go-maw.	U	}	
Wa-we-eg-she		}	
Thaw-me (or Land Plane)	}	.	
Gee-que for himself and brother She-win-fe		}	

PUTAWATAMES OF HURON.

O-ke-a



Chamung



Se-ga-ge-wan.

Na-naw-me (for
himself and Brother
A-gin-)

Mar-chand






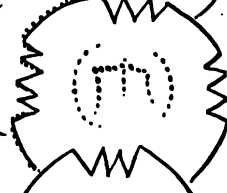



We-na-me-ac.

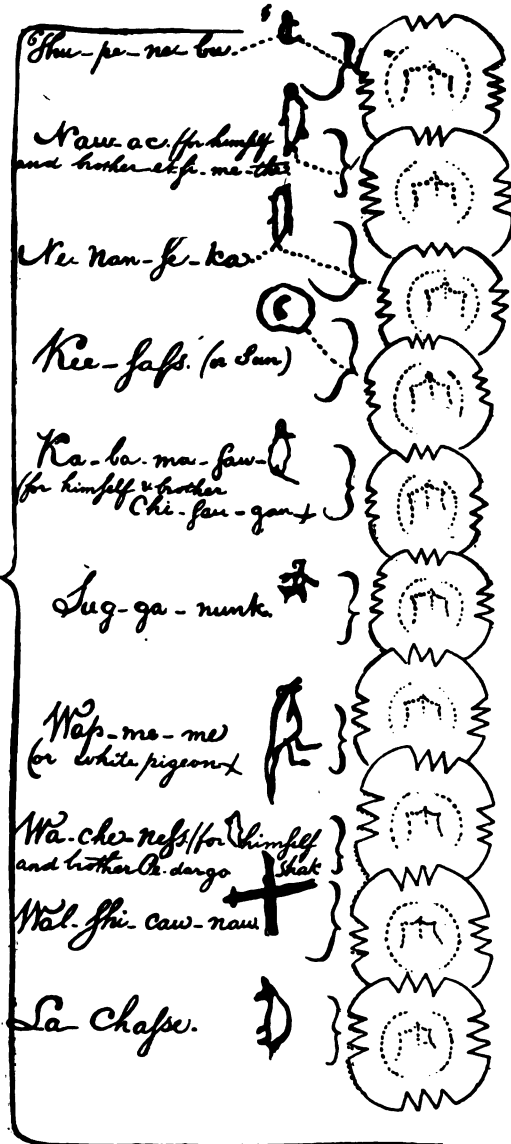
Na-goh-quan-tgogh
(or Le gris.)

MIAMIS.

Mei She-kun (D) nooh-
(or little Turtle) quoh.

CHIPPEWAS.	Mee-ne-doh-gee-fogh		}	
	Pee-wan-she-me-nogh			
	Wey-me-gwas			
	Gob-ma-a-tick			
OTTAWA.	Che-go-nick-ska (an Ottawa from Sandusky)		}	

PUTAWATAMES OF THE RIVER SAINT JOSEPH.



SHAWANOS.

Ne-gue-taugh-aw.

Hah-goo-fee-kaw.
(or Captain Read.)

Au-goosh-away.

Hee no-fha-meet

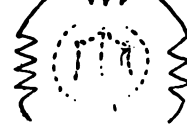
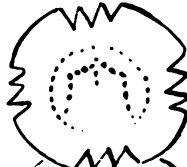
OTTAWAS.

La Malice.

Ma-chi-we-tah

Tho-wa-na-wa.

Se-baw.



CHIPPEWAS.

Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish
(a bad bird)

Kah-sho-go-she.
(from Lake Superior)

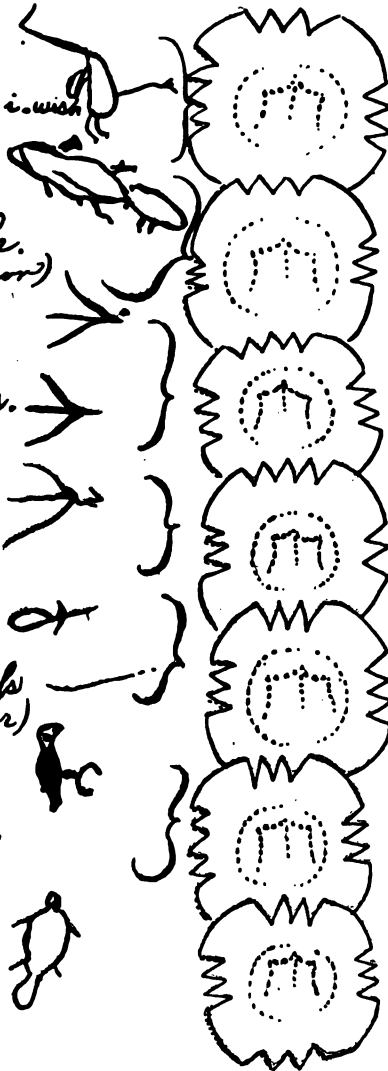
Ka-tha-wa-jung.

Ma-fafs.

Ne-me-kaps
(or little Thunder)

Pe-fhaw-kay.
(or young one)

Kan-guey



AMERICAN SIGNATURES.

J. De Butts. }
first a. d. c. & secy to M. G. Wayne }
Wm. H. Harrison
aid de camp to M. G. Wayne
T. Lewis Aid de Camp
to M. G. Wayne
James O'Hara
Quarter Master Gen.
John Mills Major of Infantry
Caleb Swan E. M. T. U. S.
Geor. Carter Lieut Col. Ill. Inf.
259
M. de la Fayette
Grant Lassel
H. Lafayette
Wm. M. Mearns

David Jones
 Chaplain U. S. L.
 Louis Benfat
 R. Echambre
 L. C. open St
 Ratus Coutins
 J. Navarre

INTERPRETERS.

Wm Wells
 Jacques Lafitte
 M. Horas
 Bt-chms Quinte
 Christopher Miller
 Cabot Millson
 Abraham + Williams
 Isaac + Jane

NOW KNOW YE, That I having seen and considered the said Treaty do by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, accept, ratify, and confirm the same and every article and clause thereof. In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed and signed the same with my hand. Given at the city of Philadelphia the twenty-second day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and ninety-five and in the twentieth year of the sovereignty and independence of the United States.

G. Washington

*By the President
Timothy Pickens.*

THE "DIVIDE."

The Water-Shed of Richland County, Ohio.

BY A. J. BAUGHMAN.

The far-famed barn, from the eaves of which the rain-falls flow from one side into Lake Erie and from the other to the Ohio river is situate near "Five Corners" in Springfield township, seven miles west of Mansfield, Richland County, on the West Fourth street, or Leesville road.

That this barn is not a myth but an actual reality can be verified by a visit to the locality. The farm upon which the building stands is owned by C. Craig, a cousin of Dr. J. H. Craig, of Mansfield.

While this barn is not on the highest point of land in the state, it is upon the actual "divide," and has an elevation of 832 feet above the lake, 965 feet above the Ohio river, and 1,265 feet above the sea. A mile east of the Craig barn is the Ralston knob, which reaches a higher elevation, but is not a "divide," for the surface waters from its several sides all find their way into the Mohican.

Contrary to the general opinion, the roof of this barn does not face north and south, but to the east and west, being situate upon a spur extending a short distance to the north from the dividing ridge proper, which traverses Ohio from the northeast to the southwest. From the east line of Ohio in Ashtabula county, the crest of the water-shed extends in a tortuous course through Trumbull, Geauga, Portage, Summit, Medina, Wayne, Ashland, Richland, Crawford, Marion and Hardin counties and from the latter it throws off a lofty spur into Logan county, but the main line continues from Hardin southwest between Auglaize and Shelby, through the corner of Mercer and the northern part of Darke to the Indiana line, at elevations ranging from 400 to 900 feet. The gravel knobs — like the one at Ralston's, are frequently found along the divide, and are interesting subjects in the study of surface geology.

The fountain-heads of the Sandusky and the Mohican rivers are only a half mile apart. The former has its source in the Palmer spring and the latter from a pond or little lake near the southeast corner of the cross-roads known as "Five Corners," one and a half miles north of Ontario. And about midway be-



SPRINGFIELD TOWNSHIP, RICHLAND COUNTY, O.

tween these two river sources is the Craig barn, where the surface waters separate.

The pond mentioned has two outlets; from its east end flows the Black Fork, and from the west the Clear Fork of the Mohican. After running a quarter of a mile in an easterly direction, the little stream, which later becomes so dark as to be called "Black Fork," turns boldly to the north through a gap, and for

several miles parallels the Sandusky, but as they near the north part of the township, the Sandusky veers to the northwest, passes through Tiffin and north to Fremont and Sandusky Bay, Lake Erie.

The Black Fork runs almost due north a distance of ten miles to Shelby and beyond, then turns abruptly to the east, leaves the south side of Holtz's grove, makes a graceful bend at Ganges, and after pursuing a tortuous course to the southeast, turns to the south after leaving the old site of the Indian village of Greentown, then glides slowly through Perrysville and Loudonville, and below the latter unites with the Clear Fork after a crooked course of 50 miles.

The output from the west end of the pond runs to the southwest for about a mile, then curves to the southeast, is called the Clear Fork, and after a journey of 35 miles, passing Bellville and Newville, finally unites with the Black Fork south of Loudonville, forming the Mohican river.

That the Black and the Clear Forks of the Mohican river have the same source is a fact that is but little known and was never before published.

The peculiar topography of the country enables the Black Fork to take a course northward towards the lake through a gap — Shafer's Hollow — in the crest of the watershed, and the stream ripples cheerily along until its course is turned by an elevation, which changes not only its course but the color and character of the stream as well, for thereafter its waters become dark and seem sullen and sluggish. But the Clear Fork, as its name indicates is clear and sparkling, carrying health and good-cheer upon its bosom, while smiles seem to play upon the surface of its waters.

The Craig neighborhood where these interesting water courses bubble up from gravelly depths, now has trolley line connections with both Crestline and Mansfield, and Shafer's Hollow, the gap in the "divide," has become a picnic resort.

The Palmer spring — the source of the Sandusky river — is 123 feet above Crestline, and supplies the town with water through pipes.

Richland county is famous for high altitude. The chestnut ridge, three miles south of Bellville, has an elevation of 952 feet above the lake. The Sheckler hill on the old state road three miles north of Bellville, is 912 feet, while the hill, a mile north of Sheckler's, upon which the German Settlement church is situated, has an elevation of 932 feet, and the city of Mansfield, according to the profile of the old S., M. & N. Railroad, is 657 feet above the lake. The Pennsylvania roads mark it 592.

The local influence of this altitude upon the climate, with its isothermal lines and rain-shadings, might here be considered and reviewed, but are not strictly within the province of this article.

GENERAL JOSEPH KERR.

BY WM. E. GILMORE, CHILLICOTHE, OHIO.

[The following article from the pen of Mr. Gilmore appeared in the columns of *The Daily Scioto Gazette* of March 21, 1903. As this article presents the history of Senator Kerr, no where else to be found, it is thought sufficiently valuable to deserve permanent preservation and is therefore herewith republished. — E. O. R.]

At length my inquiries and correspondence, begun in 1886, for the purpose of recovering something of the personal history of General Joseph Kerr, a very early resident of Chillicothe, and in his day a very prominent and important one, has met with some success through the kind assistance of Mr. Henry Clay Carrel, an eminent architect, of 1123 Broadway, New York, who is a son of the well known Captain Hercules Carrel, formerly of Cincinnati, and a great-grandson of General Kerr.

It has been strangely difficult to get information in regard to this notable person, owing to many peculiar causes. In the first place he himself was utterly indifferent as to whether his fellow citizens or any others knew anything about him or not. In the second place, while his correct name was Kerr, almost every person who knew him spelled and pronounced it Carr, and this fact gave infinite trouble to his descendants afterward, in proving up title to a large land grant, made by the Republic of Texas to soldiers of its revolutionary war with Mexico.

He was defeated in long litigation for that magnificent farm just east of this city, known as the Watts farm, and the defeat almost impoverished him, and greatly embittered him.

He had been unjustly treated, he thought, in large contracts for supplies to the army of the U. S., operating under General Hull. He had quarrelled with Gov. Thomas Worthington, to whose remnant of senatorial term he had been elected by the General Assembly of Ohio, and finally he, with his family, had made two or three changes of residence after leaving Chillicothe in 1824, and if he ever wrote a single letter back to any one here,

I never could hear of it, although I have made diligent search for such.

And so "his trail" was lost, and so completely lost, that even so intelligent, industrious and resourceful an investigator as Col. W. A. Taylor, of Columbus, gave it up, and in his list of Ohio Statesmen, simply designates him as "the lost Ohio Senator."

Therefore, when I, this morning, received the documents which enable me to give the salient points of General Kerr's personal history, as herein given, from his great-grandson, Mr. H. C. Carrel, I was inclined to echo the old Greek's shout, "eureka! eureka!"

General Joseph Kerr was born of Scotch ancestry in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in 1765, and was married in that city, to Nancy Daugherty, a young lady of Irish descent, in 1788. He removed to Ohio with his young family "in the year 1792," according to the statements of his son, James D. Kerr, (who was still living on a part of the homestead farm, in Carrel Parish, near Lake Providence, Louisiana, in 1887—and I do not know how much later) "and settled on an highly improved and large tract of bottom land, one mile below Chillicothe on the Scioto river, but the title was disputed by a Virginian by the name of Watts, who, after 18 years of litigation, gained the land from my father."

This date, 1792, must be wrong, for it is four years earlier than the advent of Nathaniel Massie's party of original settlers in this valley, or the occupancy of this region by any white people. But certainly Kerr came very soon after Massie's party did, i. e., very soon after April 1st, 1796.

I can myself remember that a lane, which led from the north-eastern part of this city, eastward to the race track on the Watts farm, was known as "Carr's Lane." The oldest powderhouse was located upon it, near its eastern end.

He was elected to the legislature as a representative from Ross county, in 1804. When Thomas Worthington resigned his place in the United States senate in 1814, to accept the governorship of Ohio, to which he had been elected, Mr. Kerr was elected to fill out the unexpired part of his term, which, however, only lasted from December 10th, 1814, to March 4th, 1815. At that

time he and Worthington were decidedly "at outs" with each other, and I never could understand how and why he was selected to succeed to Worthington's remnant of a senatorial term. It may be that it was as a peace-offering from the friends of the governor-elect in that General Assembly.

Senator Kerr held a commission as brigadier general of volunteers in 1812-1815, and is reported to have seen some service in the field, during the war, but I am not able to say what or how much it was.

In 1824, Kerr, with his family, left Ohio, intending to remove to Mexico, but stopped at Memphis, Mississippi, and having bought land near there, for a few seasons followed farming. But this location, not proving satisfactory, he moved further south and settled finally in Louisiana, a little below Lake Providence, in what is now known as Carrel Parish. Here his wife died in 1833, and he followed her to the grave in 1873.

Nine children had been born to General Kerr and his wife during their union. These were, in order of their births, named Aletha, Harriet, Chambers, Elie, Clara, Susan, Nathaniel, James and Joseph. I am unable to follow the story of these children beyond the fact that Elie was appointed a West Point cadet about 1816, and that Joseph and Nathaniel early enlisted in the Revolutionary army of Texas, and were both killed by the Mexicans under Santa Anna, in the assault and capture of the Alamo.

Both Joseph and Nathaniel were born here in Chillicothe, as were also several of their brothers and sisters.

In consequence of the confusion which always existed between the names, Kerr and Carr, great trouble ensued in settling the identity of the two sons killed in the Alamo, and securing the land grants which the Republic of Texas gave to the personal representatives of her soldiers who were killed or died in that war. Testimony was taken in the case, here in Chillicothe, notably the depositions of Dr. William Waddle and of his mother, Mrs. Nancy Mann Waddle, and of Col. James McLandburg.

THE TOWNS CALLED CHILLICOTHE.

[In Volume XI, page 230, of the Society's Publications was a valuable article by Prof. R. W. McFarland of Oxford, Ohio on the Chillicothes. This article led to an interesting discussion in the Chillicothe *News-Advertiser*, of which Mr. W. H. Hunter, one of the trustees of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, is editor. We reprint the articles which speak for themselves. The communications by Dr. Morgan and Prof. McFarland appeared in the daily issue of the above named paper on the dates of January 7, and February 2, 1903, respectively.—E. O. R.].

DR. MORGAN'S CRITICISM.

To the editor of the News-Advertiser.

In your issue of December 19, you make mention of Dr. McFarland, a correct historian, having written an article for The State Historical Society Quarterly on the Chillicothes, and republish the paper.

He writes of five different towns having that name, and draws special attention to town No. 2, which he locates about three miles north of Xenia.

He states that this town is the one so often mentioned in connection with Boone and Kenton, and admonishes the people who read the lives of these two hunters to bear it in mind. The reader will take notice that he speaks of these two men as being only hunters.

The next town of importance in connection with history in the mind of the Doctor is Chillicothe No. 3, which he locates on the west side of the Scioto river near the present site of Westfall. The present writer is very skeptical in regard to the location of this town. It is generally conceded that about all the Pickaway towns were situated on the east side of the river. Besides, the writer is in possession of history that recites the story of a perilous escape of a company of surveyors from the Indians in 1794, and when they halted and camped for the night it was in the vicinity of where Westfall is located. A body of trained men

would not be likely to camp in the vicinity of a town inhabited by their pursuers.

The Doctor gives no importance whatever to Old Chillicothe on the North Fork of Paint creek,

We are willing to admit that the Chillicothe on the Little Miami was an important Indian town, but not willing to concede that the town No. 2, or any other town is the one always referred to in connection with the lives of Boone and Kenton. The fact is, we have much evidence to dispute the statement. We feel strongly fortified when we state that the Chillicothe on the North Fork of Paint creek, now called Frankfort, was the most important Shawnee town in the country, unless it was Chillicothe on the Little Miami. We feel that Dr. McFarland was much mistaken when he stated that Chillicothe No. 2 should always be held in mind when reading of Boone and Kenton.

The old Chillicothe where Kenton had the most bitter experience during his long and eventful life was the Chillicothe on the North Fork of Paint creek.

Frankfort now occupies that spot. After the present Chillicothe was laid out the "Old Town" was called Old Chillicothe to distinguish it from the new one. This was a natural consequence on account of their close proximity; they being only eleven miles apart.

From this Old Chillicothe many raids were made on the Kentucky frontier. When the Indians crossed the Ohio river at or near where Maysville now stands the Kentucky inhabitants could be almost absolutely certain that the Indians were from the Paint creek and Pickaway towns.

The trail was through Adams, Pike and Ross counties.

The writer was fortunate, some years since, in having a volume of notes put into his hands by a friend that has been very valuable to him in regard to the very early history of a portion of the Northwest Territory. The notes were taken by Rev. David Jones of Revolutionary fame, while on a missionary visit to the Shawnees in 1773.

From this little volume we learn that the first village he struck was on the west side of Deer creek, in what is now Union

township, Ross county. It was called Pickaweeke, and took its name from a tribe of Indians called the Picks. He says that the inhabitants were a mixture of Shawanee and other nations, but it was called a Shawanee town. He went from Pickaweeke to Blue Jacket's town, which he locates three or four miles north on the same stream. Jones was highly entertained by Blue Jacket, who, Rev. Jones says, was called the King. This Blue Jacket was the leader of the combined forces of the Indians when they were defeated in 1794 by General Wayne. Rev. Jones says that Blue Jacket was not an Indian, but a white man who had been taken prisoner when a boy and reared among the Indians. His right name was Marmaduke Van Sweringin. I believe I have never seen this statement made in history. (Pardon the digression.)

On Friday, January 22, 1773, Rev. Jones left Blue Jacket's town in company with a Mr. Irwine for the Chillicaathee town. They arrived in the afternoon. Mr. Jones gives a very interesting account of his experience with the Chillicothe (Chillicaathee) Indians. He states that the town was the chief town of the Shawanees. The reader will please remember the last statement. He locates the town north of a large plain, adjacent to a branch of Paint creek. This corresponds to the location of "Old Town," or Frankfort, as it is now called.

I believe that the Jones notes are the earliest recorded history that speaks of a Chillicothe in this portion of the country. In this I may be mistaken, but I am not mistaken in the fact that Jones says that it was the chief town of the Shawanees, and that it was located on a branch of Paint creek.

A little volume lies before me that was written by Col. John McDonald, which contains a sketch of the life of General Simon Kenton. This little sketch was not written by a long distance historian, nor by a stranger. Instead, it was written by a companion in the wilderness. When McDonald was preparing this sketch, although an old man, he made his way on horseback from his home on Poplar Ridge in Ross county, to the head of Mad river in Logan county, to the humble cabin of the old warrior, and gathered many of the facts that are embodied in the sketch of the most interesting career of the most interesting frontiersman of the Northwest territory.

McDonald says in his sketch that "in the year 1789 the writer first became acquainted with Kenton, and although young, was with him in many excursions after the Indians."

In the sketch we find that in 1778 Boone and Kenton with nineteen men made a tour into the Indian country with the avowed purpose of attacking a small Indian village on Paint creek.

When they arrived near the town they were surprised by about forty Indians whom they put to flight. On account of the town being apprised of the approach of the whites the project of surprising and taking the town was abandoned. The reader can here see that Boone and Kenton were together on Paint creek.

Again McDonald says "About the first of September of the same year, 1778, Kenton again organized an expedition into the Indian country. In this expedition he was joined by Alexander Montgomery and George Clarke. The purpose was to obtain horses from the Indians."

McDonald says that they proceeded to Chillicothe, (now Old Town). They succeeded in obtaining seven horses. They proceeded to the Ohio and attempted to cross at the mouth of Eagle creek, Brown county. The waves ran so high that the horses could not be induced to cross. As the result of this delay they were overtaken by the Indians. Montgomery was killed and Kenton taken prisoner. Clarke made his escape. McDonald details the cruel treatment inflicted upon Kenton while in captivity. This was the time that Kenton was lashed to a vicious horse and turned loose in the woods. The next day, after their arrival at Chillicothe, Kenton was made to run the gauntlet. McDonald says that some two or three hundred Indians joined in the sport. He was kicked and cuffed most unmercifully, his clothes were torn from his body, and he was left naked and exhausted on the ground.

That was the bitterest experience of Kenton's eventful life. Again, McDonald says, "In the year 1787, Kenton asked Col. Todd to join him in a raid against the Indians. Kenton said that with their joint forces they could destroy the Indian town on the North Fork of Paint creek, (now Old Town, then Chillicothe).

"Kenton as usual commanded a company and piloted the expedition to the Chillicothe town. On their route out, about five miles south of Old Town, on a place now called Poplar Ridge, (this was the home of McDonald,) the advance guard, commanded by Kenton, met four Indians. Kenton and Helm fired and killed two Indians, and the other two were taken prisoners.

"From the prisoners they learned that there was a large Indian encampment between them and Old Chillicothe, about three miles from the latter place."

On account of the impatience of some of the men they failed to surprise the town, word having reached the inhabitants, when all took naked to the woods. The town was burned to ashes and everything around destroyed. The army camped that night on the North Fork of Paint creek.

Again, McDonald says, "In 1795, Kenton led a party of thirty men against the Indians. They expected to head the Indians off about the mouth of Paint creek on the Scioto. When they came to a place known as Reeve's crossing they came to a fresh trail. They found the Indians camped on the bank of Paint creek."

After submitting the foregoing facts we leave the reader to judge whether or not Dr. McFarland's town No. 2 was the town for the reader to keep in mind when reading of Boone and Kenton. We are sorry that mistakes occur in history as often as they do. But the most careful reader is liable to misread or to remember indistinctly.

J. B. F. MORGAN.

It is true that Dr. McFarland, in the article referred to, speaks of Boone and Kenton as "hunters." But it does not follow that he held them in no higher regard. In other published articles he gives them due credit for their manifold services to the pioneer community; and frequently, in personal conversation, I have heard him refer to them in terms that showed him to be fully cognizant of the great aid which they rendered to settlers in the wilderness, and the part which they took in preparing it for civilization.

There can be no doubt that Blue Jacket was a white man, as stated by Jones. He and a younger brother were captured by

Indians; the latter was restored to his family, but Marmaduke became one of the tribe by adoption. This statement is made in other books, though I do not recall just where, and the fact is well known to persons now living in Chillicothe. Descendants of Blue Jacket are, or were within a few years, still living somewhere west of the Mississippi.— G. F.

PROF. MCFARLAND'S REPLY.

To the Editor of the News-Advertiser.

In your issue of January 7th, there was a review of a brief article which was originally published in the Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly. The reviewer makes a display of mistakes which he claims to have found. I propose to show that the reviewer is in error, and that in his comment he has made worse mistakes than he charges against me. The following statement shows how the original article on the Chillicothes came to be written:

Some months ago, being in correspondence with a Columbus gentleman, a fellow member of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, a man of extensive literary culture, mention was made of the fact that there were several Indian towns, formerly in Ohio, having the name of Chillicothe; and that sometimes confusion arose in the minds of readers as to the location of these towns, and the part they played in the early history of the state. The suggestion was made that it might be well to give a short statement of the facts and print it in the Quarterly. It was so done. At all the places named I have been scores of times, of course long after they were abandoned by the Indians.

So far as I can make out, only two mistakes are claimed to be found: first, that the Chillicothe on the Little Miami was not the town generally meant when Boone and Kenton were named, and, secondly, that the Westfall Chillicothe was on the east side of the Scioto.

The sole reason adduced to support this second case, is a report that some surveyors encamped over night not far from Westfall, and if the town had been on the west side, the survey-

ors were in danger of being killed; this in 1794, twenty years after Dunmore's expedition. And as the country was being surveyed, what evidence was there to show that the town was of any importance; or whether, at that time, it was inhabited at all? It is not stated how far away the surveyors pitched their camp — whether one mile or ten. One place would have been about as dangerous as the other in case the savages knew of their position; and either place was safe if the enemy did not know where the party was encamped. Further, how long would it have taken the Indians to cross the river, even if the town had been on the east side? This claim that the town, for the above reason, was east of the Scioto, borders on the absurd, not to say the ridiculous. Besides, it is contradicted by the traditions of more than a hundred and twenty-five years, and by the testimony of every writer of Western history who mentions the town at all;—at least, all whose works I have read. The mistake is Dr. Morgan's, not mine.

Now, as to the other alleged mistake;—that the Chillicothe near Xenia was not the town usually meant when Boone and Kenton were spoken of in connection with a town of this name. Dr. Morgan labors to show that it was the Paint creek town. He further claims that this was the chief town of the Shawnees. I have something to say on each of these two points.

The suggestion that I spoke disparagingly of Boone and Kenton in calling them "hunters," is well and fully answered by "G. F.," in the note printed at the end of Dr. Morgan's article. I was not giving my own or the country's estimate of the two men, but merely stated (for the information of any who might wish to know) that the Little Miami town was often named in connection with the two men. The fact that both men had been at the Paint creek town, has been known to me almost all my life. Again, there is not one word in my original article on the Chillicothes, which by any possibility can be twisted to signify that I gave any estimate of the relative importance of the several towns. But as this point has been raised, it will receive due attention. The order in which the towns were named is of no significance. Any other order would do as well.

If the Paint creek town was the chief one, how came it to pass that of the six great military expeditions to punish the Indians, not one was directed against the Paint creek Chillicothe, although a considerable portion of three of the armies came down the Ohio, and were within sixty miles of the place? Here follow the six expeditions:

1st. That of George Rogers Clark, who, in 1780, with a mounted regiment, moved on to attack the Chillicothe on the Little Miami; then a few hours afterward fought the great battle at Piqua, six miles below Springfield, on Mad river, the Indians making a "desperate defense."

2nd. In 1782, Clark, with 1,050 men, attacked the Shawnees at Upper Piqua, on the Great Miami. A detachment made a night march of about fifteen miles farther, and destroyed Loramie's store. In his report of this expedition Clark says, "We surprised the principal Shawnee town on the evening of the 10th of November." One writer says that the Upper Piqua is said at one period to have contained nearly 4,000 Shawnees.

Dr. Morgan gives an account of a contemplated attack on the Paint creek town, by Boone and Kenton, with nineteen others — a not very formidable army, as men estimate forces. Reference to this affair will be made later on.

3rd. In 1786, Col. Benjamin Logan led a force of about 1,000 men against the Shawnee towns on the upper waters of the Mad river, in what is now Logan county. Eight towns were utterly destroyed.

4th. In 1790, Gen. Harmar, with 1,500 men marched against the Indians of Western Ohio.

5th. In 1791, Gen. St. Clair with more than 1,400 men made a like move.

6th. In 1793-4, Gen. Wayne, with 3,000 men, played havoc with these same Indians before making his treaty.

In none of these six campaigns was any mention made of this "chief town of the Shawnees on Paint creek." Still, if anyone wishes so to consider it, I would not willingly disturb his serenity of soul.

For his principal historical points, Dr. Morgan relies on McDonald's Sketches. I read those sketches when they were

first printed in a weekly newspaper in Cincinnati. This was some years after Kenton's death. We are told that when McDonald was an "old man" he rode all the way from Ross to Logan county to see Kenton, and "gathered many of the facts" given in his sketches. This was an honorable way of proceeding, and the "old man" should have due credit for his carefulness. Let us examine the matter a little further, and see whether there was a possibility — nay, even a probability — of making "mistakes." Kenton was about eighty years old, and he had no written account of his multitudinous exploits. He gave his statements from memory only. It is also possible that McDonald has attributed to one town events which occurred at another, both towns bearing the same name. One such case is referred to below. Remember that this event took place more than fifty-five years before McDonald's conference with Kenton. But before giving a specific account of this error, it may be well to show what opportunities I have had of gaining information on the general subject.

William Kenton was eighteen years older than his brother, Simon. William and his family moved from Fauquier county, Virginia, to Kentucky in the fall of 1783, and thence to the valley of Mad river, in Champaign county, Ohio, in 1801, Simon having preceded him a year or two. William's children were Philip, Thomas, Elizabeth, Mark, Jane, Mary and William. With the first four of these I was well acquainted for more than a score of years, the other three having died before my time; but I was acquainted with the children and grandchildren of all the seven, as also with Simon Kenton and his children and grandchildren. My father married Philip's oldest daughter. The first twenty-five years of my life were spent among the Kentons. The Kentons formed a sort of colony of no mean dimensions. In the early 40's I taught school for more than two years, in three adjoining districts, and in each about half the pupils belonged to some branch of the Kenton family. For the last thirty years of Simon's life, his residence and my father's were not many miles apart, although each of the men had changed his place of residence at least three times. In the last four or five years of Simon's life, when unable to undergo the fatigue of constant labor, he was accustomed to visit his children, his neph-

ews and nieces, and he was always heartily welcomed. On these occasions, the lads of eight, ten or twelve years, always beset the old "hunter," and begged him to tell of his fights with the Indians. I was one of those youngsters, and heard the stories from Simon's own lips.

One item I mention here — an item, so far as I know, now for the first time put on record. To the question as to how many Indians he had killed, the answer was that when he was entirely alone, he had shot sixteen, but he did not know how many he had killed when he was in company with others. Hundreds of times I have heard the exploits of Simon talked over by his relatives — accounts told them by Simon himself. It was a subject that never grew old.

In 1838 I read to Thomas Kenton McClung's sketch of Simon. Like many other pioneers he had never learned to read. Many times when I had finished one story he had me read it over again, and slowly, so that he might see whether it agreed with Simon's account of the same story. In this way the whole sketch was read over two or three times. He detected but one mistake, and that was of no moment. All the rest agreed with what Simon had always said — only that the author had not mentioned one-quarter of the scouting expeditions which Simon had made. My father, who, for thirty years was associated with Kenton, had a like opinion of McClung's sketch. I claim, therefore, that McClung's account is substantially correct.

I return now to the mistake above referred to; it is the account of the horse-capturing raid. Dr. Morgan says: "The old Chillicothe where Kenton had the most bitter experience of his long and eventful life, was the Chillicothe on the North Fork of Paint creek." This statement I flatly contradict; and I will show to the satisfaction of any fair-minded person that it was the Chillicothe on the Little Miami, north of Xenia, and I will also point out how the mistake was most probably made. Dr. Morgan states that Boone and Kenton, with nineteen others, undertook an expedition against a Paint creek Indian town. The account, as printed in Dr. Morgan's article, is as follows: "In the sketch we find that in 1778 Boone and Kenton, with nineteen men, made a tour into the Indian country with the avowed purpose of attack-

ing a small Indian village on Paint creek. When they arrived near the town they were surprised by about forty Indians whom they put to flight. On account of the town being apprised of the approach of the whites, the project of surprising and taking the town was abandoned."

McClung's version gives a more detailed statement, as follows: "Kenton sustained two sieges in Boonesborough and served as a spy with equal diligence and success, until the summer of 1778, when Boone, returning from captivity, concerted an expedition against the small Indian town on Paint creek. Kenton acted as a spy in this expedition. * * * Being some distance in advance of the rest, he was suddenly startled by hearing a loud laugh from an adjoining thicket which he was about to enter. Instantly halting, he took his position behind a tree, and anxiously awaited a repetition of the noise. In a few minutes, two Indians approached the spot where he lay, both mounted upon a small pony, and chatting and laughing in high good humor. Having permitted them to approach within good rifle distance, he raised his gun, and, aiming at the breast of the foremost, pulled the trigger. Both Indians fell—one shot dead, the other severely wounded. Their frightened pony galloped back into the cane, giving alarm to the rest of the party, who were some distance in the rear." I abbreviate the remainder of the account. Kenton ran forward to dispatch the wounded Indian and secure the scalps, but while thus engaged, he heard a rustling in the cane, and looking up, "he beheld two Indians within twenty steps of him, very deliberately taking aim at his person." Kenton jumped aside and the bullets whistled near his head. He ran to the shelter of a tree, and a dozen more Indians emerged from the canebrake; but just then Boone and the others ran up, "and opening a brisk fire upon the Indians, quickly compelled them to regain the shelter of the canebrake, with the loss of several wounded." A surprise of the town being now impossible, Boone returned with all the men except Kenton and Montgomery. These two "determined to proceed alone to the Indian town, and at least obtain some recompense for the trouble of their journey." They did so, took four horses, and making a rapid night's march, returned in safety to Kentucky. McClung continues, "Scarcely had he returned when

Col. Bowman ordered him to take his friend Montgomery, and another young man named Clark, and go on a secret expedition to an Indian town on the Little Miami, against which the Colonel meditated an expedition, and of the exact condition of which he wished to have certain information. They instantly set out in obedience of their orders, and reached the neighborhood of the town without being discovered." From this point on the accounts given by McDonald (or quoted) and by McClung agree in all the essential points. The small difference is that McDonald says they attempted to cross the Ohio at the mouth of Eagle creek, but the Kentons said that in the first raid, when four horses had been taken, they crossed the Ohio at Eagle creek, but in the second, the attempt to cross was made at the mouth of White Oak, ten miles further down the Ohio. The pursuit, the failure to cross, the death of Montgomery, the escape of Clark, the capture of Kenton, the wild ride back to Chillicothe, the gauntlet, etc., etc., are the same in both narratives. McClung says "on the Little Miami;" McDonald, as quoted, says "they proceeded to Chillicothe," and so they did, but it was not the town on Paint creek.

The council decided not to burn Kenton at Chillicothe, but to go to Wapatomica, on the upper waters of Mad river. Kenton asked a renegade white man what would be done with him at Wapatomica. He replied, "Burn you, G—d d—n you." Kenton resolved to escape. His conductors started on the trip. Kenton "meditating an effort for liberty, and as often shrinking from the attempt. At length he was aroused from his reverie by the Indians firing off their guns, and raising the scalp halloo. The signal was soon answered, and the deep roll of a drum was heard in front." Then Kenton "sprung into the bushes and fled with the speed of a wild deer. The pursuit was instant and keen, some on foot, some on horseback." In his flight Kenton ran into a company of horsemen who were coming from the village to meet those who were conducting Kenton. "He was again haltered and driven before them to the town like an ox to the slaughter house. Upon reaching the village (Pickaway), he was fastened to a stake near the door of the council house, and the warriors again assembled in debate. In a short time they issued

from the council house, and surrounding him, they danced, yelled, etc., for several hours. * * * On the following morning their journey was continued * * * and on the second day he arrived at Waughcotomoco." [This is McClung's way of spelling; others usually write Wapatomica.]

The correctness of this account is confirmed by all the testimony touching it. The journey from Chillicothe to Pickaway, [usually written Piqua, six miles from Springfield, down Mad river] was made in one day, with several hours to spare. The distance from the Chillicothe on the Little Miami is about twelve miles in a straight line, the distance from the Chillicothe on Paint creek is about fifty miles similarly measured. To travel the distance in one day and have "several hours" to spare, was easily practicable from the town on the Little Miami. But to travel the distance from the Chillicothe on Paint creek, to Piqua, and have "several hours" to spare, when you reflect that the windings of the journey would add some miles to the distance, was absolutely impossible. Some one has confused his Chillicothes.

"He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it."

It is with great reluctance that I have taken time to expose the "mistakes" made by Dr. Morgan, or those on whom he relied, and I decline any further controversy on the subject.

R. W. McFARLAND.

THE BUCKEYE.

BY ALICE WILLIAMS BROTHERTON.

The rose and the thistle and the shamrock green
And the leek are the flowers of Britain;
The fleur-de-lys on the flag of France
In a band of blood is written;
But what shall we claim for our own fair land,
What flower for our own fair token?
The golden rod? or the tasseled maize?
For each has its own bard spoken,
Oh, the tasseled corn for the whole broad land,
For the Union no power can sever;
But the buckeye brown for the Buckeye State
Shall be our badge forever.

Like twisted thorns are the waving plumes
Of the buckeye blossom yellow,
The buckeye leaf is an open hand
To greet either foe or fellow;
And brown as the eyes of the antlered deer,
Is the fruit from the branches shaken,
Of the sturdy tree that in Buckeye hearts
Can a loyal throb awaken.
Oh, the tasseled corn for the whole broad land
For the Union no power can sever;
But the buckeye brown for the Buckeye State
Shall be our badge forever.

Oh, the stalwart oak, and the bristling pine
And the beech, are a stately trio;
But dearer to me is the spreading tree
That grows by the fair Ohio.
The buckeye tree with its branches broad,
Its burr with the brown fruit laden,
Is the dearest tree that springs from the sod,
To the Buckeye — man or maiden.

Oh, the tasseled corn for the whole broad land
For the Union no power can sever;
But the buckeye brown for the Buckeye State
Shall be our badge forever.

CENTENNIAL TRIBUTE TO OHIO.

BY JOHN HOPLEY.

Hail, fair OHIO, from the great Northwest,
The first established free state and the best;
Where bounteous Nature spread with lavish hand
A fertile soil throughout this favored land,
And filled the tree-crowned hills with varied stores
Of inexhaustible and precious ores,
Where flowing streams combine with inland seas
And stately forests, rustling in the breeze,
To make thee "beautiful"—with pride elate
We pay this tribute to our glorious state.

But greater than by produce of her mines
And fertile fields, our fair OHIO shines;
Her earnest sons in every land are found
Where enterprise with rich reward is crowned;
And whether nerve in act or nerve in brain
Be in demand OHIO'S sons sustain
The glory of their State and, prominent
In deed or council, still are dominant;
'Tis thus Ohio men build up her fame
And by their greatness glorify her name;
Though precious ores and corn and wine and oil,
Be the rich product of her fertile soil,
Yet most we glory in her greatness, when,
She demonstrates her chiefest product — MEN.

Bucyrus, Ohio.

THE CENTENNIAL ODE.

BY J. M. HARDING.

Columbia's pride, Ohio, grand and fair,
Where wealth and beauty are beyond compare,
Where labor, truth and knowledge have control,
Thy name is peer upon the honor roll.
Ohio, first-born of the great Northwest,
Nursed to thy statehood at the Nation's breast
And taught wisdom of the Ordinance Rule —
No slav'ry chain but e'er the public school,
Ohio, name for what is good and grand,
With pride we hail thee as our native land;
With jealous pride we sing our heartfelt lay
To laud thy name, this first Centennial Day.
One hundred years and half as many more
Ago, from ripples on proud Erie's shore
Far to the south where, beautiful and grand,
The placid river's wave kissed untrod sand,
The dusky twilight of the forest old
Concealed the native Indian, wild and bold.
Within the awe of that primeval wood
The white-skin captive, pining, lonely stood
And longed to lift the prison veil to roam
From savag'ry to join dear ones at home.
Here lived the greatest, noblest Indian men,
Retreating from their Eastern glade and glen,
They crossed the River, called this land their own
And hoped to hunt and fish and live alone.
Here came another Race. The renegade,
The scout, the trapper, followed each his trade.
Here, too, the priest and bishop, with sad face,
Converted souls, built missions, "Tents of Grace."
But they are gone. The annals of the strife
That brought to one race death, another life.

Have oft been writ, by deeds not free from stains,
In noblest blood that coursed a race's veins.
Then came forth through the gateway of the West
That band of war-scarred soldiers, all in quest
Of peaceful homes. Their river voyage past,
The Mayflower of the West, her moorings fast
To Buckeye faith. With noble, pure, desire
Debarked that crew — to found a new empire.
They brought with them their all; but ere they came
The purest laws that Liberty could frame.
More settlers followed them. With steady stroke
And fire they cleared the land of native oak,
And reared the cabin homes. Soon did appear
The rude log schoolhouse of the pioneer.
One decade and a half of honest toil
Create a state of Freemen on Free soil.
One century of statehood — statehood such
As all the World proclaims the guiding touch
Of man's long strife for liberty, and one
Full-gemmed with pure deeds that men have done.
When Tyranny, in dark expiring throes,
A few times dared on our horizon show
A cloud of war, Ohio's noble sons
Were first to bear and last to stack their guns
With Erie's waters mixed their crimson blood;
They reached and crossed the Rio Grande's flood;
They "Starred and Striped" the Montezuma's halls,
They filled the ranks at Lincoln's sev'ral calls,
And fought till Freedom won. Ohio's roll
Was near Four Hundred Thousand men, each soul
Free born and taught, for that great civil strife.
Ohio men in ev'ry fight were rife,
In cabinet and battle camp each plan,
A Stanton, Chase, a Sherman, Sheridan
Or Grant direction gave. The slave is free.
The breeze but one Flag floats from sea to sea.
Pure, noble women, honest, learned men
For peace and progress here have ever been,

Each morning's breeze, throughout our hills and dells,
 Wafts on its wings chimes of ten thousand bells;
Ten thousand fields of sheep and kine give voice;
 Ten thousand whistling factories rejoice;
Four million people rise, from slumber sweet
 In happy homes, their daily tasks to meet,
Ohio, pearl of Western forest sea,
 Where lived a Race in dark antiquity,
To speak to us of industry and toil
 With tongues entombed in mounds of clay and soil;
Ohio, guardian of eternal right,
 The lamp of justice burned but dimly bright
Till thou, from off thy Northwest Throne,
 Interpreted, with will and arm of stone,
That grand old page, where Heaven's guided pen
 Had said, "Born free, and equal are all men;"
Ohio, may thy "Jewels" number rise
 To guard thy name a thousand centuries.
Caldwell, Ohio, February 4, 1903.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XII. No. 2.

E. O. Randall

APRIL, 1903.

OHIO DAY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

At the regular monthly meeting of the Executive Committee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical society, held Friday, July 18, 1902, Professor C. L. Martzloff, trustee, presented a scheme to have the public schools throughout the state, celebrate the admission of Ohio into the Union on March 1, 1903. He proposed that the Society, through a committee, prepare a program of exercises for that occasion, such program to consist of historical sketches, literary excerpts, poems and other literary matter pertinent to the day for the children to read or recite, and that this literature with some suggestive schedule of exercises, be sent to the superintendents and principals of all the schools of the state. Professor L. D. Bonebrake, School Commissioner, and Mr. O. T. Corson, editor of the *Ohio Educational Monthly*, had signified their willingness to co-operate in this matter. The Executive Committee of the Society endorsed this plan and appointed Professor C. L. Martzloff, Professor F. B. Pearson and Hon. D. J. Ryan as a committee to prepare such program and report to a subsequent meeting of the Executive Committee. Accordingly on November 14, 1902, at the first joint meeting of the Centennial Commission appointed by the Governor and the Executive Committee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, this matter was presented by Hon. A. R. McIntire and it met with the approval of the joint committee. Again at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Society on December 13, 1902, Professor Martzloff, on behalf of his committee, reported that they proposed to send to the principals of the schools a little pamphlet containing the program of exercises for the children to follow, with a list of books and literature to be consulted. A preliminary statement in the form of a circular had already been sent to very many of the teachers and something over one hundred of the county newspapers. These papers had published the circular and commented favorably thereon. The matter had thus been sufficiently advertised to establish its popularity and justify the carrying out of the project. It would, however, require considerable expense. The only source from which funds for the purpose could come was the Centennial appropriation of \$10,000 made by the legislature in its extraordinary session, October 22, 1902. The Executive Committee decided to recommend to the Joint Centennial Committee that this proposition for the

school day celebration be carried out and that a sufficient amount be voted from the centennial fund for the purpose. At the second joint meeting of the Centennial Commission, held December 29, 1902, Professor Martzoff presented the proposed pamphlet to be sent to the teachers, which was entitled "The Ohio Centennial Syllabus," the material of which would constitute a pamphlet of 64 pages, with an appropriate cover upon which was printed the National flag in colors. This pamphlet comprised an introduction by School Commissioner Bonebrake, a statement of the history and work of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society; statement of the committee preparing this material setting forth the purpose of the school celebration; the origin of the plan and steps taken to carry it out. The material chosen for this pamphlet was carefully selected by the committee from leading histories, volumes of poems, works of literature, publications of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, etc., also a valuable list of reference books pertinent to Ohio history. The Centennial Commission made the proposed appropriation and authorized the committee to proceed with the publication and dissemination of this pamphlet. It was decided not to hold the school celebration on March 1, 1903, which was the real date of the admission of Ohio, because that date fell this year on Sunday, but rather to hold it on Friday, February 27, which day would be more suitable and convenient for the schools. The Centennial Commission authorized Professor Martzoff and his committee to print and circulate the proposed pamphlet. The committee had 15,000 of these pamphlets printed and sent to that number of the leading teachers, principals and superintendents of schools in Ohio. Indeed, more than half of the teachers of the state were thus supplied and there was scarcely a school in a town of any size that was not a recipient of the program and that did not make use of it. It was indeed a most successful achievement for the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and on the day, in question, hundreds of thousands of school children gave their thought and attention to the history of Ohio and the literature that has been published concerning it. Probably in no state at any time has so universal and complete a program of a state event been observed by the school children. The results of this Ohio Day will certainly be far-reaching. It not only added vastly to the information and interest of our young people in their own state but it was an inspiring and patriotic occasion well calculated to stimulate and encourage their study of the achievements not merely of the Buckeye State, but the American nation.

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EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO
STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

(June 5, 1903.)

The eighteenth annual meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Society, Page Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, at 2:30 p. m. June 5, 1903. The following members were present:

Judge J. H. Anderson, Columbus; Mr. G. F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield; Mr. A. B. Coover, Roxabell; Col. J. W. Harper, Cincinnati; Mr. W. H. Hunter, Chillicothe; Rev. I. F. King, Columbus; Rev. N. B. C. Love, Deshler; Prof. J. P. MacLean, Franklin; Prof. C. L. Martzloff, New Lexington; Mr. W. C. Metz, Newark; Prof. W. C. Mills, Columbus; Mr. Robert S. Neil, Columbus; Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield; Prof. E. O. Randall, Columbus; Dr. W. O. Thompson, Columbus; Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus; Gen. George B. Wright, Columbus; Prof. G. Frederic Wright, Oberlin.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Gen. R. Brinkerhoff. The Secretary, E. O. Randall, was called upon for the minutes of the previous annual meeting, held June 6, 1902. The Secretary responded that the complete minutes of the last annual meeting as set forth in his minute book were very lengthy, and would require an hour or more for reading, but a condensed report of that meeting is published in volume 11, Society's annual publications (page 71), consisting of some twenty pages. He briefly outlined that published report, which was duly approved as the minutes of said meeting.

In regard to the work of the year, which this eighteenth meeting closes, the Secretary made the following report:

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee, it will be recalled, is the representative and acting authority of the Society. During the past

year, ending this June 5th, meetings of the committee were held at Columbus on June 21, July 18, October 6 and December 13, 1902; February 10 and April 7, 1903; and also in joint session with the Centennial Commission November 14 and December 29, 1902, and March 6, 1903. So the Executive Committee has held during the past year nine meetings, including the three held with the commission. The Committee, as you well know, has been occupied largely during the past six months with work in conjunction with the Centennial Commission, in preparing for the Centennial at Chillicothe, hence the work of the executive committee has not been as distinct as usual, but it has worked with more than ordinary efficiency and interest, and the result of its year's labors speaks for itself.

PUBLICATIONS.

In January, 1903, volume eleven of our annual publications appeared; that volume consists of the July and October Quarterlies for 1902, and an index to all the previous volumes, including the index to the two Quarterlies this volume (11) contains. This index comprises two hundred and twenty pages, and it was thought best to make this volume consist of the two Quarterlies and the complete index, thereby making a volume of some five hundred pages, the average size of our publications. The closing of this volume with the October, 1902, quarterly, permits the beginning of volume twelve with the January Quarterly, 1903, in order that the volumes may hereafter be contemporaneous with the calendar year. The preparation of this index was assigned to Professor C. L. Martzoff, and it has been done in a most satisfactory and thorough manner. It was an enormous labor, and gives an added value to our publications as the matter in each volume is now easily accessible by means of this index.

We are just about to issue a volume of some five hundred pages on the Illinois campaign of George Rogers Clark, written by Consul Wilshire Butterfield. This manuscript was completed almost the very day of Mr. Butterfield's death, and is perhaps the most valuable production of his pen. It was placed in our hands through the courtesy of Mr. W. H. Hunter,

with the proviso that we publish it, otherwise it was to go to Washington and Lee University. The Executive Committee decided that it was not within our authority to publish this book. Finally Mr. Fred J. Heer, publisher for the Society, came to our aid and agreed to issue the book upon his own responsibility under the auspices of our Society. It will appear in a short time, the Society to have credit for its appearance.

It was clearly understood that the appropriation by the legislature to our Society of \$10,000 for the Ohio Centennial was to include the cost of issuing a souvenir volume of the complete proceedings. That volume will be issued as soon as the matter is fully in hand. It will make a separate and distinct volume of our society's publications and will be without doubt one of the most interesting books we have yet produced.

The appropriation of \$6,500 which the legislature gave us a year ago last winter for the reprinting of the then ten complete volumes of our publications has been expended for that purpose. Ten complete sets have been sent to each member of the legislature and the officers of both the House and Senate. There has been a great demand for extra copies by the libraries and schools throughout the state, a demand we have been entirely unable to supply.

PERMANENT BUILDING PROJECT.

This subject is our continued story. It is perennial. In the session of 1902 the legislature passed an enactment enabling counties, under certain conditions, to issue bonds for a memorial building for the G. A. R. Franklin County, in accordance with the approval of the voters, issued bonds for the erection of such building to the extent of \$250,000. The law authorizing this, by its wording permitted "occupancy by any * * * historical society," etc. (95 Ohio Laws, 41). It was thought this would include our society, and the county commissioners appointed by the Governor made overtures to our Society to unite with them. They suggested co-operation in securing from the legislature an additional appropriation which would permit the building to be so planned as to accommodate both the county purpose and that of our society. This plan was submitted to

our Executive Committee in the fall of 1902. Pending that idea, the trustees of the Ohio State University offered to remove our quarters from Orton Hall to the new Page Law Building. It was finally decided that the Memorial Hall project was impracticable, and the proposition of the University trustees was accepted. Curator Mills in his report will give an account of the removal to the rooms which we now occupy, and in one of which we are now meeting. There is nothing binding on either our part or that of the University as to the length of time we may remain in our present ample and suitable rooms. The question of a permanent building is still open and may come up in the next legislature. Certainly the day is not far off when we shall have a building of our own, probably on the College campus.

SERPENT MOUND.

Your Secretary has made several visits to the Serpent Mound during the past year, viz: on July 17, September 12 and October 24, 1902, and April 1, 1903. In accordance with the appropriation for that purpose, we have erected a substantial and commodious house in the park near the Serpent for the occupation of our custodian, Mr. Daniel Wallace. We have also built a barn, and purchased a horse, wagon and mower. We have had the boundary lines re-surveyed and properly designated, and new fencing has been erected where necessary. The park was never in such an excellent and beautiful condition. It is being visited by hundreds, visitors coming not only from all parts of this country, but even from Europe to study this wonderful relic of the Mound Builders.

FORT ANCIENT.

Mr. Warren Cowen, the custodian of Fort Ancient, has kept that property in fine condition. A competent family resides in the residence within the Fort, and the funds for the purpose have been economically expended by the committee in the preservation of the property. On October 22, 1902, the trustees of our Society visited the Fort with the International Archæologists as their guests. This interesting and unique event is fully de-

scribed in the January Quarterly for this year (1903), beginning on page 97. The distinguished foreigners from nearly all parts of the world were profuse in their praises of the work which our Society is doing in this state, and particularly in our care of this property, the largest and most complete remains of a prehistoric people.

OHIO SCHOOL DAY.

On Friday, February 27, 1903, upon the suggestion and under the direction of our Society, "Ohio Day" was celebrated. Some fifteen thousand of the Ohio Centennial syllabi, spoken of elsewhere in this report, were sent to as many of the leading teachers and superintendents throughout the state, and thousands of school-children gave their thought and attention on that day to the history and achievements of our great state. This celebration is detailed on page 185 of the April Quarterly (1903).

WORK OF THE SECRETARY.

Aside from the events noted above in which the Secretary participated, it may be stated that he has prepared during the past year several articles pertinent to Ohio history, has edited the Quarterly, and in addition acted as Secretary of the Centennial Commission. The latter duty required a large part of his time during the last six months. The correspondence concerning the Centennial was very great. Hundreds of letters were received and answered, and several trips were made to Chillicothe in arranging for the celebration, which was held on May 20th and 21st. Several trips were made to various parts of the state in connection with matters pertaining to the work of the Society.

OHIO CENTENNIAL.

The importance of this event is worthy of a detailed statement of the work by our Society, aided by the Centennial Commission. It will be recalled that on April 21, 1902, the general assembly passed joint resolution No. 53, which read as follows:

WHEREAS, On the 29th day of November, 1802, the first constitution of Ohio was ratified by the convention which framed it; and,

WHEREAS, On February 17, 1803, congress passed an act admitting Ohio into the Union under that constitution; and,

WHEREAS, On March 1, 1803, the first general assembly of Ohio assembled and organized and Ohio thereupon became a state; and,

WHEREAS, The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society proposes to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the above named great and important events in the history of Ohio in a suitable manner; and,

WHEREAS, The general assembly of the state of Ohio recognizes the importance and significance of these events and believes that they should be duly celebrated; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society be requested to take charge of said celebration and conduct it, and that the governor of this state be requested, and empowered to appoint seven honorary commissioners to represent the state in the preparation for and carrying on of this centennial celebration.

W. S. MCKINNON,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

CARL L. NIPPERT,

President of the Senate.

In accordance with this resolution, Governor Nash, on June 19, 1902, appointed the following commissioners to co-operate with The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society: General J. Warren Keifer, Springfield; Hon. Rush R. Sloane, Sandusky; General B. R. Cowen, Cincinnati; General James Barnett, Cleveland; Hon. D. S. Gray, Columbus; General Chas. M. Anderson, Greenville; Hon. Robert W. Manly, Chillicothe. On October 22, 1902, during its extraordinary session, the seventy-fifth general assembly appropriated to The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society "for expenses of the centennial anniversary of the admission of Ohio into the Union * * * to be paid out upon vouchers approved by the Governor and Secretary of said Society," \$10,000.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE FOR THE OHIO CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

On November 14, 1902, in the ante room of the Law Library, Capitol Building, at 2 P. M., was held the first joint meeting of the Centennial Commission and the Executive Committee of the State Society. There were present of the Commission: Governor George K. Nash; Gen. J. Warren Keifer, Springfield; Judge Rush R. Sloane, Sandusky; Hon. R. W. Manly, Chillicothe; Gen. C. M. Anderson, Greenville and Hon. D. S. Gray, Columbus.

Gen. B. R. Cowen of Cincinnati and Gen. James M. Barnett of Cleveland telegraphed their inability to be present. Of the Executive Committee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society there were present: Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield; Hon. D. J. Ryan, Columbus; Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield; Hon. A. R. McIntire, Mt. Vernon; Hon. S. S. Rickley, Columbus; Gen. George B. Wright, Columbus; Mr. G. F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; Mr. W. H. Hunter, Chillicothe; Mr. E. O. Randall and Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus.

Governor Nash was made honorary president of the Joint Commission and Gen. J. Warren Keifer permanent chairman, Mr. E. O. Randall permanent secretary.

The secretary explained the object of the meeting, relating the history of the resolution of the legislature (passed April 21, 1902, 95 O. L., page 957), empowering the Governor to appoint a commission and the subsequent appropriation during the Extraordinary Session of \$10,000 to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society for the Centennial Anniversary. The item in the appropriation bill is given above (96 Ohio Laws, page 14).

After some discussion upon the relative status of their respective authority it was decided, without opposition, that the Commission and the Executive Committee act throughout in this matter as a single committee, it being understood that the centennial was to be celebrated under the auspices of the Society, but with the advice and co-operation of the Commission.

Mr. Hunter offered the following resolution: "That the centennial of the adoption of the Constitution of Ohio be celebrated at Chillicothe, Saturday, November 29, 1902, and that the centennial of the organization of Ohio into the Union (that date being March 1, 1803), be celebrated at Chillicothe, the first state capital, on Wednesday and Thursday, May 20 and 21, 1903." This date in May was selected because the date of March 1, this year (1903) happens on Sunday, and comes in the season of the year, when there would likely be inclement weather. The determination of the date in May met with the unanimous favor of the meeting.

The celebration of the anniversary of the Constitutional Convention, November 29, 1902, was to be entirely under the auspices



requests you to be present at the
 Celebration of the one hundredth
 Anniversary
 of its
 Admission to the Union
 to be held at Chillicothe
 Wednesday and Thursday
 May twentieth and twenty-first
 nineteen hundred and three

Ohio admitted to the Union, March 1st 1803

**Ohio Centennial Celebration
under the auspices of
Ohio State Archaeological
and Historical Society**

Centennial Commission

Governor George H. Nash
Gen. H. Warren Keifer
Gen. Charles M. Anderson
Gen. James Barnett
Gen. W. R. Cowen
Hon. David F. Gray
Hon. R. B. Manly
Hon. Rush R. Stanc

Executive Committee

**Ohio State Archaeological
and Historical Society**

Gen. H. Wintchhoff
Mr. George H. Garcia
Mr. W. W. Hunter
Hon. A. R. McIntire
Prof. W. F. Prince
Mr. E. H. Randall
Mr. F. S. Rickly
Hon. D. J. Ryan
Gen. George W. Wright
Prof. G. Fred. Wright

E. H. Randall
Secretary
Columbus, Ohio

of the local authorities at Chillicothe, but the Commission and all members of the State Archæological and Historical Society were invited to be present and participate. (An account of the celebration will be found in *January Quarterly*, 1903, page 1).

Upon motion an executive committee was selected from this joint committee, which executive committee was empowered to meet at the earliest possible moment and formulate a detailed program for the centennial, said program to be reported later to the joint committee for its action. The executive committee selected consisted of Messrs. Brinkerhoff, Hunter, Ryan and Randall from the trustees of the Society, and Messrs. Gray, Keifer and Manly of the Commission.

Governor Nash on being called upon for his views as to the nature of the celebration, stated that it was his idea that it should be a literary and historical event, with no attempt at an exposition; some prominent and eloquent speakers should be chosen who would properly present subjects pertinent to the occasion. The appropriation was not sufficient for any military or spectacular display. If the people of Chillicothe desired to have an exposition of historical relics or other attractive features fitting and interesting to the occasion, they would of course be permitted to do so. In this view the members of the meeting generally acquiesced.

Gen. Anderson suggested that there should be a list of subjects so designated and arranged as to practically present in toto a history of the state from the days of the Northwest Territory to the present time.

Mr. A. R. McIntire presented the plan which had been proposed by the State Society to have a celebration throughout the state by the school children on some day, as near as possible to the actual date, March 1. After much friendly discussion concerning topics and speakers the selection of the same was left to the executive committee.

Secretary Randall was authorized to have prepared and designed a souvenir invitation and have charge of the engraving and its printing and distribution to such list of names as might be selected.

* * *

A meeting of the executive committee was held at Chillicothe, November 29, 1902, in the parlors of the Warner House, at 2 P. M. There were present: Gen. J. Warren Keifer, Chairman; E. O. Randall, Secretary; D. J. Ryan, R. W. Manly and W. H. Hunter. The meeting was purely a deliberative one, in which the speakers to be chosen and the topics to be assigned them were considered.

* * *

On December 13, 1902, the executive committee again met in the Public Library, City Hall, Columbus, at 2 P. M., with the following members present: Gen. J. Warren Keifer, W. H. Hunter, R. W. Manly and E. O. Randall. Messrs. Gray and Ryan sent word they were unavoidably prevented from being present. After lengthy consideration a list of subjects was decided upon and speakers suggested for the respective topics. It was decided to make the report agreed upon at the next meeting of the Joint Commission.

* * *

On December 29, 1902, was held the second meeting of the Joint Commission of the Centennial Commission and the Executive Committee of the State Society, in the office of the court stenographer, Judiciary Building. The meeting was called to order at 2 P. M., with the following members present: Gen. J. Warren Keifer, B. R. Cowen, Rush R. Sloane, R. W. Manly, D. S. Gray, B. F. Prince, W. H. Hunter, A. R. McIntire, G. F. Bareis, Gen. G. B. Wright and E. O. Randall. There were also present Messrs C. L. Martzoff and F. B. Pearson of the committee appointed by the trustees of the Society on the school celebration. Gen. C. M. Anderson notified the secretary of his inability to be present.

Prof. C. L. Martzoff presented a program for the celebration by the school children of the admission of Ohio into the Union, said celebration to be held on February 27, 1903, that being the nearest available date to the historical one of March 1. The committee had prepared a complete program of exercises for that day, the program being of a sufficiently varied nature to suit the different grades of pupils and to cover points of interest in

Ohio history from the Mound Builders to the present time. The committee had prepared the material for a pamphlet of some 65 pages in extent, said material embracing excerpts from the histories, biographies, works of literature, poems, etc., with reference list for future reading and study upon the different topics pertinent to Ohio history. It was proposed that this pamphlet be sent to the teachers as far as possible throughout the state: These teachers, however, number some 27,000, and the expense involved in the printing and distribution of the pamphlet, which was to be called "Ohio Centennial Syllabus" would be very great. This proposition met with some discussion as to its feasibility and the legality of appropriating money for the purpose from the centennial fund. The Secretary (Randall), gave the information that this matter had been proposed in the trustees' meeting of the Society, and there met unanimous approval; that he had conferred with the Attorney General, who stated that it would be a perfectly legitimate expenditure from the fund in question if the committee so desired. The project also met the approval of Governor Nash, and most hearty endorsement from the School Commissioner, L. D. Bonebrake. It was finally decided without a dissenting vote that the committee having the matter in charge be authorized to proceed with the publication of the Syllabus and its distribution to the teachers, as far as possible, the expense to be from the centennial fund.

The Executive Committee of the Joint Commission then made its report of the topics and speakers for the Chillicothe Centennial. (As there were subsequently many changes both in the topics and in the speakers the report as made and agreed upon in this meeting is here omitted, the program as finally carried out being stated elsewhere.)

It was decided that the executive committee should have full power to fill any vacancy which might occur in the list of speakers or otherwise rearrange the program as necessity required.

It was determined that the speaking be held on both days of the centennial, and that Governor Nash be invited to preside and make the opening address upon the first day, and that Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, President of the Society, be invited to preside upon the second day.

It was also unanimously agreed that Gov. Nash, Gen. Keifer, Gen. Brinkerhoff and Hon. R. W. Manly constitute a committee to visit Washington and invite President Roosevelt, Senators Foraker and Hanna of Ohio, Lodge of Massachusetts, Daniel of Virginia and Gen. Grosvenor of Ohio, to be present and make addresses at the centennial.

* * *

On February 23, 1903, the Executive Committee of the Joint Commission met in the Public Library, Columbus, Ohio, at 2 P. M. There were present Gen. J. Warren Keifer; Gen. R. Brinkerhoff; D. S. Gray; R. W. Manly; W. H. Hunter and E. O. Randall.

Secretary Randall reported that he had communicated with all the parties chosen to speak. That most of the appointees had accepted; that there were some declinations and that there would have to be some changes in the list of speakers, and probably some slight changes in the subjects assigned.

Gen. Brinkerhoff reported that on January 21-4, 1903, the committee named for the purpose, had visited Washington and invited the gentlemen selected for speakers, and that they were informed by the President that he would probably be absent at that time upon his trip to California; that Senator Lodge reported he would probably be absent in Europe; Senator Daniel was not in Washington and could not be seen. Senators Foraker and Hanna and Congressman Grosvenor accepted the invitation and agreed to be present.

Secretary reported that 15,000 of the Ohio Centennial Syllabus had been sent by the committee to as many teachers, and superintendents of schools throughout the state.

At this meeting the question arose as to just what the joint committee was expected to do and what would be required of the people of Chillicothe. After a full discussion it was agreed that the joint commission was to secure the speakers, select the topics, arrange the program of the speaking and of the exercises; pay for the transportation and entertainment of the speakers and distinguished guests; secure the music; provide and have charge of the issuing of the invitations and the incidental expenses of the commission, such as those of the office of the secretary, typewrit-

ing, postage, etc. That the commission should furnish a large tent in which the meetings were to be held. The city of Chillicothe was to do the rest. Messrs. Manly and Hunter advocated that the commission ought to appropriate at least \$2,000 from the centennial fund to the people of Chillicothe for the purpose of decorating the town. If that was done, they asserted Chillicothe would do the rest. It was finally decided to leave this matter to the action of the joint commission.

* * *

On March 6, 1903, there was held the third joint meeting of the Centennial Commission and the Executive Committee of the Society in Room 40, Neil House, Columbus, Ohio. The meeting was called to order at 2:30 P. M. with the following members present: Gen. J. Warren Keifer; B. R. Cowen; Rush R. Sloane; R. W. Manly; Gen. R. Brinkerhoff; Gen. G. B. Wright; B. F. Prince; W. H. Hunter; A. R. McIntire; G. Frederick Wright; E. O. Randall and E. F. Wood.

Mr. Gray was absent in California; Generals Anderson and Barnett and Mr. Bareis sent statements of their inability to be present. Mr. Ryan was absent in Florida. There was present a committee from Chillicothe consisting of Mayor W. D. Yapple; Gen. S. H. Hurst; Mr. D. H. Roche and Mr. W. H. Brimson. These gentlemen all made addresses requesting the commission to appropriate at least \$2,500 to the people of Chillicothe to be expended in local decorations. They argued that it would be difficult for the people of Chillicothe to raise funds unless they were somewhat assisted by the commission, the people of Chillicothe feeling that a portion of the centennial fund should be placed at their disposal. The matter was finally disposed of by the adoption of the following resolution: "That this Joint Commission allow the citizens of Chillicothe, from the said appropriation, a sum not to exceed \$2,000, this sum to be expended by the proper local authorities and itemized bills for expenditure to be made out in a form of voucher signed by Col. Richard Enderlin, Chairman of the Finance Committee and Mr. R. W. Manly, Chillicothe member of the Commission." These vouchers of course to go to the Governor and Secretary Randall who were to honor them by proper vouchers on the state treasury.

Upon request secretary Randall stated to the meeting that it must be clearly recalled that this centennial celebration was by and under the auspices of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and that the appropriation of \$10,000 was to the Society for that purpose and not in any way to the people of Chillicothe, although that city had been properly selected by the Society as the place for the celebration; that the Finance Committee of the legislature made the amount \$10,000 with the distinct understanding that out of it was to be paid the expense of issuing a volume giving in full the proceedings of the centennial, and that the publication of such volume would probably be in the neighborhood of \$2,500.

The Secretary gave a full statement of the state of affairs to this time; of his numerous correspondence with the proposed speakers and also gave the "tale of woe" of his troubles in dealing with aspiring individuals who desired to be upon the program. Their names were legion; all sorts and conditions of men and women; also various classes of citizens and professions who wanted to be represented.

* * *

On May 8th in Room 40 of the Neil House was held a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Centennial Commission. It convened at 2:30 P. M. and there were present Messrs. J. Warren Keifer; D. J. Ryan; R. W. Manly; W. H. Hunter and E. O. Randall. Gen. Brinkerhoff was in Atlanta, Ga., and Mr. Gray was in Pittsburg, Pa.

Secretary Randall reported that on May 5, Governor Nash had issued a proclamation announcing the centennial, which proclamation read as follows:

PROCLAMATION.

"On March 1, 1803, the first General Assembly of Ohio met and organized at Chillicothe, Ohio, and at that time the State of Ohio entered its career of statehood.

"The centennial celebration of this event will be held at Chillicothe, May 20 and 21, by authority of the General Assembly of Ohio and under the auspices of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

"The growth and development of Ohio during the century of its statehood has been one commensurate with the greatness of our Nation.

It is fitting that its achievements be properly observed, to the end that the commemoration of its great deeds and the lives of its founders may be not only perpetuated for the benefit of generations to come, but may be a source of inspiration to the living of to-day.

"Now, therefore, in behalf of the State, I invite its officials and the people thereof to assemble at Chillicothe on the dates aforesaid and participate in the celebration there to be observed."

GEORGE K. NASH, *Governor.*

L. C. LAYLIN, *Secretary of State.*

Secretary Randall reported that invitations had been sent to all the leading newspapers in the state; to presidents of all colleges and universities; hundreds of leading teachers and superintendents; officers of leading labor organizations; mayors of all cities and chief villages; superintendents and trustees of all state institutions; all G. A. R. Posts; all chapters of the D. A. R., of the S. A. R. and Colonial Dames; all Societies Ohio Federation of Women Clubs; all members of the State Archæological and Historical Society; Members of Ohio Society of New York; all county, state and circuit judges; all U. S. judges in Ohio; all officials and employes in the State House and Judiciary Building; all members and employes of the Ohio Legislature; all members of the incoming and outgoing congress; governors of all states and territories; the president, cabinet, supreme court and chief national officials; the leading citizens of Columbus; all city officials of Columbus; 500 to the chairman of Committees in Chillicothe, 50 each to each member of the Centennial Commission.

Secretary reported that during the previous week he had visited Chillicothe to inspect the arrangements there being made, and they were entirely to his satisfaction, and he felt sure would be pleasing to the commission. A tent which would seat some 5,000 people had been secured from Springfield and had been erected in the park at Chillicothe, and that music would be supplied by the 4th Regiment Band of Columbus; the Neely Band of South Salem; Veteran Drum Corps of Columbus; a Young Men's Orchestra of Chillicothe and a Massed Chorus and a Children's Chorus organized in that city.

The Secretary further reported he had had the last word from all the speakers and with the exception of Senator Massie,

they had notified him they would be present to perform their respective parts, and the following was the program finally agreed upon after consultation with the Chillicothe officials:

OFFICIAL PROGRAM.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 20.

Reception of guests.

9 A. M.—Presentation of plaster medallion of Governor Edward Tiffin, Ohio's first governor, to Ross County by Mr. William H. Hunter; exercises to occur in the Common Pleas Court in the Court House on the site of the first capitol, Judge J. C. Douglass to preside. Rev. R. C. Galbraith will deliver the invocation; Miss Anna Cook, a great granddaughter of Governor Tiffin, will unveil the tablet. The presentation address will be made by Hon. Archibald Mayo for Mr. Hunter, and the acceptance to be made on behalf of the county by Mr. Horatio C. Claypool.

10 A. M.—Centennial celebration of Ohio's statehood opens in auditorium in the City Park, Governor George K. Nash presiding.

Selection by the Fourth Regiment Band, Columbus, Ohio.

Invocation, Rev. A. M. Courtenay, pastor of Walnut Street M. E. Church.

Address of welcome, Hon. W. D. Yaple, Mayor of Chillicothe.

Response in behalf of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, General J. Warren Keifer, Springfield.

Music by chorus of school children.

Opening address, Governor George K. Nash, of Columbus, Ohio.

"The History of the Northwest Territory to the Marietta Settlement," Hon. Judson Harmon, of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Music, chorus of school children.

"The History of the Northwest Territory from the Marietta Settlement to the Organization of the State," Prof. Martin B. Andrews, of Marietta.

"The Date of the Admission of Ohio into the Union and the Great Seal of the State," Judge Rush R. Sloane, of Sandusky.

"The Star Spangled Banner," by the Fourth Regiment Band, of Columbus.

Intermission.

Music by the Fourth Regiment Band.

2 P. M.—Invocation, Rev. H. Bene, rector St. Peter's Catholic Church.

"Ohio in the American Revolution," Hon. E. O. Randall, Columbus.

"The Military History of Ohio, Including the War of 1812," General Thomas Anderson, U. S. A., Sandusky.

Music, "The Hills and Vales Resound," mass chorus.

"The Military History of Ohio from the War of 1812, Including the Civil War and Spanish-American War," General J. Warren Keifer, of Springfield.

"Ohio in the Navy," Hon. Murat Halstead, Cincinnati.

Music, "Old Glory," solo, George U. Sosman and mass chorus.

"The Governors of Ohio Under the First Constitution," Hon. David Meade Massie, Chillicothe.

"The Governors of Ohio Under the Second Constitution," Hon. James Campbell, of New York City.

"Ohio in the United States Senate," Hon. J. B. Foraker, Cincinnati.

Music, "Centennial Hymn," mass chorus.

"Ohio in the National House of Representatives," General Charles H. Grosvenor, Athens.

Music, "America," mass chorus.

Intermission.

7:30 P. M.—Music, Kipling's "Recession," mass chorus.

Invocation, Rev. S. N. Watson, D. D., rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

"The Judiciary of Ohio," Judge Moses M. Granger, Zanesville.

"The Industrial Progress of Ohio," Senator Marcus A. Hanna, Cleveland.

Music, "The Red, White and Blue," solo, S. A. Roach and mass chorus.

"The Public Schools of Ohio," Hon. Lewis D. Bonebrake, Columbus.

"The Universities of Ohio," President W. O. Thompson, O. S. U., Columbus.

Music, "To Thee, O Country," mass chorus.

"The Achievements of Ohio in the Care of Her Unfortunates," Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield.

"The Part Taken by Women in the History and Development of Ohio," Mrs. J. R. Hopley, Bucyrus.

Music, "Star Spangled Banner."

"The Ethnological History of Ohio," Gen. B. R. Cowen, Cincinnati.

Benediction, Rev. J. L. Roemer, pastor First Presbyterian Church.

Music, "Hail Columbia."

After the close of the exercises the speakers, the distinguished guests present and the members of the State Centennial Commission, the State Historical Society and the visiting representatives of the press and the Executive Committee in charge of affairs in Chillicothe will be entertained at a banquet under the auspices of the Press Club of Chillicothe, in the Eintracht Hall.

THURSDAY, MAY 21.

Second Day's Session.—General R. Brinkerhoff presiding.

10 A. M.—Music by the Fourth Regiment Band.

Invocation, Rev. Joseph Reinicke, pastor of German Salem Church.

"The Ohio Presidents," Thomas Ewing, Jr., New York City.

"The Press of Ohio," S. S. Knabenshue, Toledo.

Music by the Fourth Regiment Band.

"Ohio Literary Men and Women," Prof. W. H. Venable, Cincinnati.

"Religious Influences in Ohio," Bishop C. C. McCabe, Omaha, Neb.

Music by the Fourth Regiment Band.

Introductions and congratulatory remarks by distinguished visitors.

Benediction, Rev. G. H. Schnur, pastor of Lutheran Calvary Church.

Music, "The Stars and Stripes Forever," Fourth Regiment Band.

Intermission.

2 P. M.—A grand parade of all military and civic societies in the city and of visiting delegates, to be reviewed by the governor, distinguished speakers, etc.

Band concerts at different localities during the afternoon.

7 P. M.—Band concerts in the City Park, the Fourth Regiment Band, the Veteran Drum Corps of Columbus and the Neely Cadet Band of South Salem.

An elaborate display of fireworks will close the ceremonies attending this celebration of Ohio's one hundredth birthday.

The speakers will necessarily be limited to twenty minutes in their addresses before the audience. They are, however, expected to prepare papers fully and accurately treating their respective topics; these papers will be published in a souvenir volume by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

The committee then adjourned and in a body called upon Governor Nash and paid their respects to him, and expressed satisfaction over the preparations made for the coming centennial.

THE CENTENNIAL.

The exercises of the Centennial were held on Wednesday and Thursday, May 20 and 21, 1903 according to program. All of the speakers were present as advertised except Hon. D. M. Massie, who was absent in Havana, Cuba, and wrote that he would forward the manuscript of his address, and Governor James E. Campbell, who telegraphed the morning of the first day, that illness would prevent him from leaving New York, but that he would forward the manuscript of his address. There were some other minor changes in the program. Secretary Randall gave his allotted time in the program to Judge Moses M. Granger, in order that the Judge might be heard by the members of the Ohio Supreme Court, who were present at that time, and were com-

pelled to return to Columbus later in the afternoon. Rev. Courtenay of Chillicothe read, on the morning of the second day, a Centennial Ode. The program at the last session of the literary exercises was closed with extemporaneous speeches by Ex-Governor Charles Foster and Bishop B. W. Arnett. Hon. Albert Douglas offered a resolution that Governor Nash in his next annual message to the legislature, suggest an appropriation to our Society for the erection of a monument on the State House grounds, at Columbus, to Governor Arthur St. Clair.

The resolution is as follows:

Recognizing that the people of Ohio have for one hundred years done injustice to the name and fame of Major General Arthur St. Clair, valiant soldier of the Revolution, beloved friend of Washington, president of the Continental Congress, and for fourteen arduous, formative years the devoted governor of the Northwest Territory.

Believing that, whatever his mistakes or faults, his work and his accomplishments in that critical period of our history deserve our gratitude, and should receive formal acknowledgment from the men of our time and,

Encouraged by the just and eloquent utterances from this platform of our present governor, Geo. K. Nash; therefore,

Be it Resolved, by us, citizens of Ohio, assembled at this Centennial celebration of our statehood, that the State Historical and Archaeological Society, and the governor of Ohio, be, and they are hereby most earnestly requested to urge upon the General Assembly of Ohio at its next session, the propriety and advisability of erecting, in the State House grounds at Columbus, a bronze statue of General Arthur St. Clair in recognition of his great services to this commonwealth, whose firm foundation he helped to lay.

This resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed by the entire audience.

A dramatic ending to the program was rendered by Bishop McCabe playing upon the organ and leading in "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," accompanied by the vast audience rising to their feet.

The proceedings in full of this centennial will be published by the Society in the souvenir volume, the publication of which is provided for in the centennial fund. The event in every respect was an eminent success. From 3,000 to 5,000 people occupied the tent at each of the literary sessions. The people were greatly

interested and patiently sat through the long program. The weather was delightfully pleasant and every one seemed happy and content. Vast crowds, perhaps 40,000 people, frequented Chillicothe, and were most hospitably cared for by the good citizens of the town.

Visitors, speakers and members of the Society without dissent agreed that our Society had arranged and carried out the program with very great credit. It was a fitting achievement along the work of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. There were present at these exercises; of the Trustees: Bishop B. W. Arnett, Mr. G. F. Bareis, Hon. A. R. McIntire, Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Hon. M. D. Follett, Hon D. J. Ryan, Rev. H. A. Thompson, Mr. W. H. Hunter, Col James Kilbourne, Prof. J. P. MacLean, Judge J. H. Anderson, Rev. N. B. C. Love, Gen. George B. Wright, Hon. R. E. Hills, Prof. B. F. Prince, Mr. E. O. Randall, Col. J. W. Harper, Mr. Edwin F. Wood and W. C. Mills. And of the Commission: J. W. Keifer, Rush R. Sloane, D. S. Gray, R. W. Manly and B. R. Cowen.

Governor Nash presided at the morning session of the first day, Secretary Randall, at the request of Gov. Nash, presided at the afternoon and evening sessions of the first day and Gen. R. Brinkerhoff presided at the session on Thursday.

It is difficult to conceive how the celebration could have been more successfully carried out on the part of the local authorities at Chillicothe. Great credit is due to Mayor Wallace D. Yapple and the committee chosen by the citizens of that town, namely: Chairman, Major William Poland; Secretary, Burton E. Stevenson; Parade, A. R. Wolf; Entertainment, Albert Douglas; Finance, Richard Enderlin; Music, F. C. Arbenz; Program, E. S. Wenis; Decoration, Henry H. Bennett; Badges, Burton E. Stevenson; Fireworks, William H. Hunter; Construction, Joseph Gerber; Information, Capt. E. R. McKee; Grounds, Ferdinand Marzluff; Transportation, W. H. Brimson; Reception, Wallace D. Yapple; Publicity, Burton E. Stevenson; Relics and Museum, William B. Mills; Floral Section of Parade, Mrs. John J. Nipgen; Women's Committee, Miss Alice Bennett.

The scheme of decoration in the city was most artistic and appropriate, for which Mr. Henry H. Bennett should be accorded all praise. The thanks also of the Joint Commission is due to the local papers, the *Scioto Gazette*, edited by Col. G. W. C. Perry, and the *News-Advertiser*, edited by Mr. W. H. Hunter. The chorus led by Capt. McKee was one of the most attractive features of the program. If there were ever any doubts about the wisdom of holding the centennial at Chillicothe, these doubts were completely removed by the fortunate outcome.

ADDENDUM.

[In order to complete the history of the Centennial we add to the report of the annual meeting, as related above, the proceedings of the meeting of the Joint Commission held June 30.]

The Fourth meeting of the Joint Session of the Centennial Commission and the Executive Committee of the Society, was held in the rooms of the Society, Page Hall, Tuesday afternoon, at 2. p. m., June 30. There were present of the Commission: J. Warren Keifer, Hon. David S. Gray, Hon. R. W. Manly, Hon. Rush R. Sloane; of the Executive Committee: Mr. G. F. Bareis, Mr. W. H. Hunter, Prof. B. F. Prince, Mr. S. S. Rickly, Hon. D. J. Ryan, Gen. G. B. Wright, Prof. G. Fred. Wright and E. O. Randall.

The Secretary stated he had called this meeting as a final wind-up in which he could report the outcome of the Centennial. Every one present was sufficiently familiar with its history and the preliminary proceedings leading up to the celebration, the great success of the celebration itself, and the satisfaction which seemed to prevail on the part of everybody; the speakers, the local managers in Chillicothe, members of the Society and the public at large.

The Secretary stated that from the \$10,000 appropriated by the legislature the special expenditures had been:

Ohio Centennial syllabus	\$653 49
Tent and chairs for the meetings.....	712 95
Music	706 03
Livery service for speakers and guests.....	81 00

Expense of Secretary's office, including clerical and stenographic assistants, postage, etc.....	\$675 15
Archaeological Exhibit	22 00
Printing of Programs	25 25
Entertainment and railroad fare of speakers and Commissioners	852 99
To Chillicothe for decorations.....	2,000 00
Invitations (engraved)	588 00
To Trustees and Commissioners for expense at meetings.....	137 35
Total	<u>\$6,454 21</u>

Mr. Randall explained that these expenditures, which were lumped in this report, were all covered by itemized receipts signed by each separate individual payee to whom any money had been paid. These receipts were all deposited at the state auditor's office, being attached in each instance to the voucher drawn for their payment, and signed, by the governor and the secretary of the society.

The Secretary stated that as all bills had now been paid, or ordered paid, and nothing remained to be done but the publication of the souvenir volume, and that would properly come within the province of the Publication Committee of the State Society. It must be remembered that the \$10,000 appropriated was, not to the Centennial Commission, but the Ohio State Society, therefore the publication would legitimately belong to the Society. The amount left from the appropriation was in round numbers \$3,500. After some discussion it was the sense of the meeting that the book should be issued uniform in size, type and binding with the annual publications of the Society. The Secretary was authorized to proceed with the publication of the souvenir volume with the advice of the Publication Committee. Copies should be sent to all members of the legislature.

Hon. Rush R. Sloane introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That Hon. E. O. Randall, the Secretary of this Joint Committee in the Ohio Centennial Celebration, is entitled to our sincere thanks as member of both the "Centennial Commission" and of the "Executive Committee," for his faithful, laborious and efficient services which so largely contributed to the complete success of that

grand Centennial, and that this resolution be made a part of the proceedings and record of the Centennial celebration.

The Secretary expressed his sincere thanks to the Joint Commission for their expression of appreciation of his labors, and for their courtesy and assistance in the discharging of his duties. Gen. Keifer also thanked the commission for honoring him with the chairmanship, saying he had never been engaged in a more pleasing work and never connected with a body of men who were so harmonious and happy in their joint efforts. Mr. Gray moved a vote of thanks be extended to the people of Chillicothe for the hospitable and gracious manner in which they had entertained the thousands of visitors in their city. He also thought that the gentleman in charge of the local affairs in Chillicothe deserved great praise.

The Joint Commission then adjourned *sine die*, leaving all further matters pertaining to the joint commission to the executive committee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION.

The seventy-fifth general assembly in its appropriation bill of May 12, 1902, gave our Society "for exhibit of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society at Louisiana Purchase Exposition, including packing, transportation and care of same while there, \$2,500." In accordance with the proper legislation, Governor Nash, on June 11, 1902, appointed Hon. Stacy B. Rankin of South Charleston, the Executive Commissioner of the Louisiana Purchase Commission, and on November 28, 1902, appointed the following commissioners: Hon. D. H. Moore, Athens, Hon. N. K. Kennon, St. Clairsville, Hon. Edwin Hagenbuch, Urbana, Hon. L. E. Holden, Cleveland, Hon. W. F. Burdell, Columbus, Hon. M. K. Gantz, Troy, and Hon. David Friedman, Caldwell.

When the Finance Committee of the Legislature decided to make the appropriation for our Society it was with the expectation that we were to have our exhibit in the proposed Ohio Building. When the Ohio Commission, however formulated their plans for the Ohio Building it was found that provision

for our exhibit would interfere with the proper design for their building. This proposition, therefore, to have our exhibit in the Ohio Building was abandoned, and we are now negotiating with the Exposition authorities for proper quarters in the department of Ethnology and Archæology. It is probably better that we be located with the same class of exhibits.

DEATH OF TRUSTEE GRIFFIN.

The Secretary reported the decease, at Toledo, December 18, 1902, of Hon. Charles P. Griffin, who had been a trustee of the Society since 1891, having been first appointed by Governor Campbell, reappointed by Governor McKinley, by Governor Bushnell, and by Governor Nash. The last appointment would have continued until February, 1903. He was therefore in continuous service as trustee by appointment twelve years, the longest incumbency of that kind by any trustee. He rendered conspicuous service as member of the legislature to our Society. A sketch of his life appears in the January Quarterly (1902), page 99.

On March 2, 1903, Governor Nash appointed Colonel John W. Harper of Cincinnati, a trustee for three years as the successor of Mr. Griffin. The Governor also appointed Rev. N. B. C. Love of Deshler, Ohio, as trustee for three years to succeed himself.

LIFE MEMBERS.

The following life members have been taken into the society during the last year: Hon. D. S. Gray, Columbus; Col. E. L. Taylor, Columbus; Prof. Frank B. Pearson, Columbus; Mr. Frank H. Howe, Columbus; Mr. A. N. Whiting, Columbus; Mr. Harry P. Wolfe, Columbus; Major W. F. Goodspeed, Columbus; Mr. Emil Schlupp, Upper Sandusky; Mr. S. S. Knabenshue, Toledo.

The Secretary then proposed the election by this meeting to life membership the following gentlemen: Hon. Myron T. Herrick, Cleveland; Colonel Webb Hayes, Fremont; Hon. Albert Douglas, Chillicothe; Prof. Frank T. Cole, Columbus; Mr. G. W. Lattimer, Columbus; Mr. W. N. King, Columbus; Hon. Henry C. Taylor, Columbus.

They were duly elected.

In conclusion, the Secretary congratulated the members of the Society upon the successful work of the society during the year just closed. It had undoubtedly been its most fruitful year. He thanked the officers and trustees, and particularly the executive committee, for their uniform courtesy and consideration and hearty cooperation with him in the direction of the affairs of the society. Mr. E. F. Wood, assistant treasurer, then made the following report in behalf of Mr. S. S. Rickly, the treasurer:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand Feb. 1, 1902.....	\$824 17
From State Treasurer —	
Appropriation — care of Ft. Ancient.....	294 35
“ Repair and care of Serpent Mound.....	20 75
“ Field work, Ft. Ancient and Serpent Mound.....	3,027 04
“ Current expenses	2,436 08
“ Publications	2,527 00
“ Reprinting publications	5,500 00
Active Membership dues.....	102 00
Life membership dues.....	125 00
Provisions sold (field work).....	3 80
Interest	84 93
Subscription	24 00
Books sold	145 75
Total	\$15,114 87

DISBURSEMENTS.

Publications	\$2,533 32
Reprinting publications	5,500 00
Field work	614 11
Care of Fort Ancient.....	611 33
Care of Serpent Mound Park.....	336 10
House in Serpent Mound Park.....	837 00
Barn (in part) in Serpent Mound Park.....	100 00
Well, pump, etc., in Serpent Mound Park.....	98 60
Expenses of trustees and committees.....	177 70
Salaries (3)	1,800 00
Museum and Library	384 35
Office expenses	100 00
Permanent fund	661 83
Fire insurance	66 00
Postage	82 04

Express and drayage	\$63 65
Job printing	37 50
Sundry supplies	5 35
" incidental expenses.....	126 29
Balance on hand February 1, 1903.....	939 70
Total	<u>\$15,114 87</u>

The report of the treasurer was received and approved.

ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

The Secretary reported that the Trustees whose terms expire at this meeting were the following: Hon. Elroy M. Avery, Cleveland; Bishop B. W. Arnett, Wilberforce; Hon. S. S. Rickly, Columbus; Hon. A. R. McIntire, Mt. Vernon; Mr. G. F. Bareis, Canal Winchester. Upon motion the Chair appointed a committee of five upon nomination, viz: Messrs. Martzloff, Neil, Harper, Wood and Coover. The committee, after a conference, reported in favor of Hon. J. Warren Keifer, Springfield; Bishop B. W. Arnett, Wilberforce; Hon. S. S. Rickly, Columbus; Hon. A. R. McIntire, Mt. Vernon; Mr. G. F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; these to serve until February, 1906, or until their successors were elected and qualified. Upon motion the Secretary was authorized to cast the ballot of the society for the gentlemen named by the committee. The board of trustees therefore now stands:

ELECTED BY THE SOCIETY.

(Terms expire in 1904.)

GEN. R. BRINKERHOFF,	Mansfield.
HON. M. D. FOLLETT,	Marietta.
HON. D. J. RYAN,	Columbus
REV. H. A. THOMPSON,	Dayton.
MR. W. H. HUNTER,	Chillicothe.

(Terms expire in 1905.)

PROF. G. FRED. WRIGHT,	Oberlin.
COL. JAMES KILBOURNE,	Columbus.
PROF. J. P. MACLEAN,	Franklin.
PROF. C. L. MARTZOLFF,	New Lexington.
JUDGE J. H. ANDERSON,	Columbus.

(Terms expire in 1906.)

HON. J. WARREN KEIFER,	. . . . .	Springfield.
BISHOP B. W. ARNETT,	. . . . .	Wilberforce.
HON. S. S. RICKLY,	. . . . .	Columbus.
HON. A. R. MCINTIRE,	. . . . .	Mt. Vernon.
MR. G. F. BAREIS,	. . . . .	Canal Winchester.

APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR.

(Terms expire as indicated.)

GEN. GEORGE B. WRIGHT, Columbus, 1904.
 HON. R. E. HILLS, Delaware, 1904.
 PROF. B. F. PRINCE, Springfield, 1905.
 MR. E. O. RANDALL, Columbus, 1905.
 REV. N. B. C. LOVE, Deshler, 1906.
 COL. JOHN W. HARPER, Cincinnati, 1906.

GRADED WAY IN PIKE COUNTY.

Prof. J. P. MacLean called attention to the *Archaeological History of Ohio* by Gerard Fowke, stating it contained many errors, more than could be easily corrected. It should not be understood, however, that the society stands sponsor for the statements in that book. Its authority rests upon its author, but he thought that this Society should appoint a committee to investigate the disputed question as to whether the graded way in Pike County is a natural or artificial work. After some discussion it was voted that the Executive Committee appoint a committee of five, among whom should be a geologist, an archæologist, and a topographical engineer, of repute, to investigate the works in question, examine them, and report to the society the result of their investigation. There being no further business of importance before the meeting of the Society it was adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

The annual meeting of the Board of Trustees was held immediately upon the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Society, and the following trustees were present: Judge J. H. Anderson, Mr. G. F. Bareis, Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Col. J. W. Harper, Mr. W. H. Hunter, Rev. N. B. C. Love, Prof. J. P.

MacLean, Prof. C. L. Martzoff, Prof. B. F. Prince, Mr. E. O. Randall, Gen. George B. Wright and Prof. G. Frederick Wright.

Letters regretting absence were received by the Secretary from Judge M. D. Follett and Bishop B. W. Arnett. Prof. G. Fred. Wright acted as temporary chairman, and Mr. E. O. Randall as temporary secretary. The election of the various officers of the Society for the ensuing year was then held. It resulted as follows: Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, President; Gen. George B. Wright, First Vice President; Mr. George F. Bareis, Second Vice President; Mr. E. O. Randall, Secretary and Editor; Hon. S. S. Rickly, Treasurer; Mr. Edwin F. Wood, Assistant Treasurer; Prof. W. C. Mills, Curator and Librarian. The following were selected as members of the executive committee: G. Fred Wright, W. H. Hunter, B. F. Prince, A. R. McIntire, D. J. Ryan. With these as ex-officio members, will serve Geo. F. Bareis, R. Brinkerhoff, E. O. Randall, S. S. Rickly, George B. Wright. The Board of Trustees thereupon adjourned with the understanding that the Executive Committee would meet at the call of the Secretary.

AMERICAN INDIANS.

In the evening, under the auspices of the Society, in the auditorium of the Ohio State University, a lecture was delivered by Dr. J. A. Leonard, of Mansfield, on the American Indian. Dr. Leonard was for many years United States Inspector of Indian Tribes, and is perhaps one of the highest authorities in the country on the subject of the modern aborigine. His lecture was intensely interesting and profitable.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR.

The report of Prof. W. C. Mills, Curator of the Society, was as follows:

It gives me much pleasure to make my annual report upon the condition of the Museum and Library and on the Archaeological explorations of the Society.

During the first part of last year the field work was carried on at the Baum prehistoric village site where for two sea-

sons prior to this, work had been carried on. The object of a further examination was to gain some idea of the extent of this village and to further examine the burials and refuse pits. The northern portion of the village was examined and here very interesting burials were discovered. Heretofore no burials having pottery placed with them were found, but in this section quite a number of burials had pottery placed in the graves. Of the hundred or more skeletons removed from this village prior to this examination not a single piece of copper was found, but this year a single grave rewarded us with two copper beads and many objects made of bone and shell. The examination of the village during the present year has somewhat enlarged the former boundary lines. At present the village extends almost one-fourth of a mile along the terrace due north, and about the same distance south of the mound and almost the same distance directly east of the mound. The part west was no doubt uninhabited by aboriginal man as the land was low and swampy. A complete report of the animal remain burials, and implements will soon be in press.

The latter part of the season was spent in examining the Gartner mound, which is situated about six miles north of Chillicothe. It is located upon the line between the farm of Mr. Gartner and the farm of Miss Elizabeth Leevy. The mound was $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high with a diameter of 75 feet. This mound contained very many interesting things that were new to science. Of the 44 skeletons unearthed, 18 were placed below the base line; all the others were buried on an average of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the base line. This mound was made up of three distinct mounds; the first or original mound having no burials beneath the base and only six that were placed on an average of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the base. However, six inches above the base line was made a platform of earth which seemed to be made from puddled clay firmly tamped into a level floor, which upon examination proved to be 23 feet wide by 43 feet in length. Upon this floor were placed ashes, varying in depth from 6 inches to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Beneath the floor was found the remains of an old home, the fire places, refuse pits and post holes of the tepees being plainly visible. With the burials in the other

portions of the mound were found pipes, ocean shell gorgets, beads, perfect pieces of pottery and large quantities of perforated teeth of various animals. But perhaps the most interesting of all the things taken from these graves was the puddles and tempered clay ready to be made into pottery. This clay was placed in a nitch in the grave near the head. In several instances small boulders accompanied the clay and were piled over it in a small heap. These were no doubt used in cooking their food. In another grave was found a small shell gorget with a hole in the center in which was inserted a fresh-water pearl.

During the winter 1902-03 the Ohio State University tendered to the Historical Society rooms in Page Hall. These rooms were accepted by the Executive Committee at the January meeting and I was instructed to proceed with the transfer of the collection of the Society as well as that of the University from Orton Hall to Page Hall. But it was the first week in February before the work could begin as the basement rooms were not quite ready for occupancy and the floor in the main Museum had to be put in shape; and it was almost the first of March before the specimens could be removed.

The University during the year supplied the Museum with upwards of \$745 worth of cases; some of these were for new cases while \$578 was in lieu of cases that could not be removed from Orton Hall.

At the present time the Archaeological exhibit occupies a room containing 4,000 square feet and the Library and office occupies about 1,800 square feet, the Historical room and Photograph Gallery on the first floor, each 900 square feet, and about 2,500 square feet of basement room which will be used for storage. Although we have a very large room for the archaeological exhibit yet at the present time I find that this room is crowded and it will be a very short time until we will be compelled to have more commodious quarters. I would respectfully recommend that the Legislature be asked to supply us with a new building to take care of the great number of collections that are coming to us unsolicited. I further recommend that

this building be placed on the University campus as the most available site.

During the year several thousand specimens have been added to the Museum and a new card catalogue is now being made. It will take about a year to complete this catalogue as each specimen of importance will be labeled as well as drawings made and placed upon the card. An historical file is also being made in which the history of each collection of specimens is carefully preserved. The library has made quite a growth during the past year and 325 volumes have been added to our list. We have received about 300 pamphlets in exchange for our publications. We have 138 exchanges but hope to increase them during the coming year.

During the year specimens and material that was stored at the State House and various other places throughout the city have been gathered together and placed on exhibition in the Museum of the Society. The most interesting historical object procured during the year is the model of the John Fitch engine, presented by Mr. A. N. Whiting. Another interesting gift is the first printing press ever used in Franklin county, presented by Col. James Kilbourne. We are now in a position to receive many historical relics and we hope the members will take it upon themselves to add to the collection.

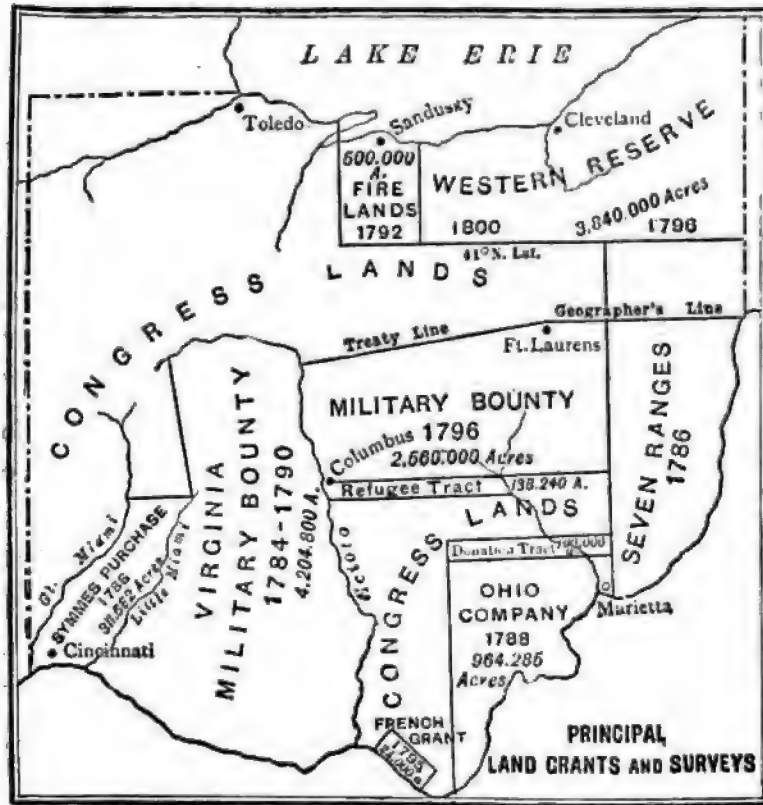
"REFUGEES TO AND FROM CANADA AND THE REFUGEE TRACT."

BY EDWARD LIVINGSTON TAYLOR.

All that part of the City of Columbus which lies east of the Scioto River and between Fifth Avenue on the north, and Steelton on the south, a distance of four and one-half miles, is on what is known in law and history as the "Refugee Tract," which was, as we shall hereafter see, set apart by the government for the benefit of "Refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia." This territory comprises at least nine-tenths of the wealth and population of the City of Columbus. Every title to property within these limits goes back to and is based upon this Refugee grant, and it is safe to say that very few of the various owners of these valuable lots and lands have any accurate knowledge of the origin of their titles or the occurrences which brought about their origin.

The common thought which prevails in the public mind of the present day is that during the Revolutionary war the people of the colonies were as a unit in opposition to the rule of Great Britain, and actively supported the efforts of the Colonial army in the struggle for independence. Nothing could be further from the truth, and this general impression could not now exist but for the reason that our American youths have for a hundred and twenty years been taught American patriotism, and have been imbued with American sentiments and ideas and have observed the wonderful growth and development of our country, until they have come to assume, as a matter of course, that no considerable number of residents in the colonies could but have been enthusiastically in favor of the revolt against the mother country, and in favor of a free and independent government. It is fortunate that this has been the case, but the assumption is wholly against the facts of history.

The truth is that there was in this country at that time a fearfully bitter and relentless party hatred and strife existing between what was, at that time, called the "Loyalist" or "Tory" party and the "Patriot" or "Whig" party. It is next to impossi-



ble at this distance of time to conceive of the malignant fierceness of party feeling or of the cruel persecutions which each party inflicted upon the other, as opportunity afforded. There was little or no moderation exercised by either party in their treatment of each other. It was in fact a life and death struggle between them. The "Loyalist" or Tory party constituted at least one-fourth, if not one-third of the entire population and were distributed somewhat irregularly throughout the colonies. In many

places they were in a majority and controlled public sentiment and action, and inflicted upon the Patriots all manner of persecutions and confiscated or destroyed their property at will. That this was in retaliation in many if not most instances is probable, and it may be assumed that they may have felt, justified in their acts for the reason that the "Patriots" inflicted upon the "Loyalists" all manner of persecutions and humiliations in many special instances and generally throughout the colonies where they had the power.

The strength of the Tory party which developed at the beginning of the Revolutionary War was composed of the crown officers who had been sent out to America by the English Government, many of whom were unworthy and worthless at home and of course were unworthy and worthless in their new relations. They were designated by the term "place-men." Some of them were worthy and discharged their duties with fidelity, but even they did not escape the appellation of "Ministerial tools." Then there was the clergy of the Established Church, who were appointed by British authority to manage the affairs of the established church in the colonies. These constituted a very respectable and important class of much influence both in religious and secular affairs. They were as a rule a cultivated order of men and their influence was necessarily great and they were always loyal to the British authority from which they received their appointments and support, and to which under all ordinary circumstances they owed allegiance.

Then there were many of the principal merchants and large property owners of the time in this country who gave their support to the Tory party for the reason that it accorded with their interest, if not indeed with their actual sentiments. These powerful elements united formed the strength of the Tory party, which first was developed and centralized about the City of Boston, in the early stages of the war, but which soon spread throughout the colonies.

The formation of the Whig and Tory parties began during the administration of Governor Hutchinson, who was the Eng-

lish provincial or colonial governor of Massachusetts at and prior to the commencement of hostilities. In May 1774 Governor Hutchinson was succeeded by General Gage, who was clothed with both military and civil authority.

With the coming of General Gage with his English soldiers, four regiments strong and which strength was subsequently greatly increased, the Tories in and about Boston manifested themselves in a very positive and often aggressive manner. Those who lived in Boston felt confident of the power of the English government to protect them and many who lived without the boundaries of the city from fears, either actual or imaginary, flocked into the city to seek protection of the British army and here for a time they felt that they were entirely secure. They further felt sure that within a short time the patriots whom they considered rebels against a lawful government, would be subdued and punished and probably be beheaded or put to the sword and have their property and estates confiscated. The sentiments and feelings of the extreme Tories at the time may be considered as well expressed by a prominent Tory woman — Madame Higginson — who declared that "It would be a joy to her to ride through Americans' blood to the hubs of her carriage wheels." Another Tory said he "hoped that the rebels would swing for it." Another "wanted to see the blood streaming from the hearts of the leaders." Another described the patriots "As more savage and cruel than heathens or any other creatures and it is generally thought than devils."

The feelings and expressions of the Whigs were scarcely less immoderate and intolerant, and they certainly did everything to persecute the Tories in every way possible short of taking life. Their conduct was often tumultuous and at times riotous. Many Tory officers were threatened with violence and in some cases violence was actually administered to compel them to resign their "commissions." In one case one Israel Williams, one of the thirty-six "Mandamus Counsellors" appointed by the authority of King George, the Third, "although old and infirm, was taken from his home at night by a mob and placed in a house

with the doors and chimneys closed and smoked for several hours," and thus compelled to resign his office. It was said with exceeding grim humor that "they smoked old Williams into a Whig."

But this was not the worst form which the Whigs adopted in the persecution of the Tories. The common and accepted form of punishment was "tar and feathers," which prevailed to a more or less extent throughout the colonies. Sometimes they tortured their victims upon a liberty pole, and sometimes ducked them in a convenient pond or stream; and one Tory complained "that he was hoisted upon the landlord's sign and there exposed in company with a dead catamount." Sometimes the Whigs were satisfied by simply warning an obnoxious Tory "that the law of tar and feathers had not been repealed." The Tories were sometimes unlawfully taken by force and imprisoned; and sometimes the unfortunate victim was made to "sit upon a cake of ice to cool his loyalty." In some places a Tory could not even secure the services of a blacksmith to shoe his horse, or have his corn or wheat ground at the mills, or have other necessary labor performed for him. The Tories were equally intolerant when they had the power.

As soon as the British army took possession of Boston and afterwards of New York they began to imprison and maltreat the active Whigs. They treated those who had been active against them with whatever cruelty or indignity they could invent, and as an illustration a Long Island Whig was "compelled to wear a coil of rope about his neck with assurance that he would be hanged the next day." In short each party was quick to learn intolerance from the other and to actively exercise it.

In New York and the New England colonies religion and sect became badly involved and mixed up with politics and party feeling and became an element which greatly heightened and in-

tensified the feelings between the two parties. Where either party had the power and control they often among other wrongs desecrated each others churches and places of worship. It was not infrequent that they used each others churches for barracks, hospitals and guard houses, destroying the furniture and committing many acts of vandalism. In some cases they even used these places of worship for the stabling of horses and the like, and sometimes burned and entirely destroyed them.

Thus the religious feeling between the Puritans and the Episcopalians — established church men — was intensified to the last extent and they used in speaking and writing of each other the most obnoxious and disrespectful language. The Tories described the Whigs as "great Puritans but without religion" and "as hypocritical fanatics." While the Puritans were equally insulting and unjust in their writings and speeches concerning the representatives of the established church. In the more southern colonies this religious feeling was not nearly so marked and bitter and in that region many Episcopalian Bishops and ministers of the established church were strong patriots. But in New York and the New England colonies, it was perhaps the strongest of any single element which served to create animosities and hostilities between the parties and tended to strengthen and encourage their outrages and persecutions of each other.

The conflicts at Lexington and Concord took place in April, 1775, and the animosities which had been rapidly growing, at once burst into flame. The Loyalists began to flee from New York and New England to Canada, and Patriots in Canada began to seek refuge in the colonies. In New York state Col. Allen McLean and Guy Johnson collected a band of soldiers mostly Scotch tenants of the Johnsons and went over to Canada where they became auxiliary to the British force. The next year (1776) Sir John Johnson, who lived in Central New York, and who had great influence with the Mohawk Indians as well as with the Loyalists organized about three hundred of the latter and with

them and all the Mohawk Indians fled to Canada. He was given a colonel's commission by the British and authorized to raise two battalions of five hundred men each, which he soon accomplished. These forces with others of the same nature were very effective and aggressive on the New York frontier and fought the bloody battles of Oriskany and Ft. Stainwix (the present site of Rome, N. Y.) at the last of which they were defeated and driven back into Canada. But they returned again in a few months and with their Indian allies, the Mohawk Indians, devastated the Wyoming Valley. They with many other Loyalists, were with Burgoyne, and on his defeat and surrender were forced to flee again to Canada, where they continued their bitter partisan border warfare during the entire war, and as the result of the war was against them, they finally became a part of the vast number of permanent "refugees to Canada."

On the other hand, there was a considerable number of residents in Canada who sympathized with those in revolt against British rule in the provinces. Prominent among them was Col. James Livingston, who had been born and educated in New York, but had located in Montreal with the view of practicing his profession as a lawyer. His family, the Livingstons, both in New York and New Jersey, were strong patriots and active and determined supporters for the war of independence and he was in accord with their views and principles.

In the summer of 1775 it was determined to send an expedition to invade Canada with a view of terminating British dominion over that province. The command of the expedition was given to General Schuyler and General Richard Montgomery. The failing health of General Schuyler under the extraordinary strain which was placed upon him, threw the active command upon General Montgomery. General Montgomery had married into the Livingston family, and so this added relation tended to strengthen, if possible, the patriotism of Colonel Livingston and his eagerness to assist in the invasion. With great energy and in the face of difficulties and dangers he succeeded in getting together three or four hundred Patriots in Canada mostly in

and about Montreal, and with them hurried over the borders to the State of New York, where they joined Montgomery's army in the invasion of Canada. This band of refugees greatly assisted at the capture of Montreal, St. Johns and other points along the St. Lawrence river, and was with Montgomery in the assault on Quebec where that gallant officer lost his life on the last day of December, 1775.

After the disaster at Quebec, Colonel Livingston withdrew along with the colonial army to the state of New York and served as a colonel of his command throughout the entire Revolutionary War. His command largely consisted of Patriots from Canada, who were treated by the British authorities as outlaws and became in name and in fact "Refugees from Canada."

As we shall see further on, more than one-half of all the refugees to Canada were from the State of New York and nearly all the refugees from Canada to the Colonies were originally from the state of New York and the New England States. Colonel Livingston and the members of his command were exceptionally familiar with the territory and the situation of affairs and from their special knowledge, well fitted to cope with and defeat the refugees to Canada and their Indian allies who were operating against the colonies under different commanders and so naturally came to be the objects of their most bitter and relentless hatred. A heavy price was set upon Colonel Livingston's head but he was so fortunate as never to fall into their hands although through his whole long service of seven years he was in large part opposed to Colonel Johnson and other commanders of the Canadian refugee army, which with their British and Indian allies constantly hovered along the Canadian border and threatened and often pillaged the patriotic settlers of northern and central New York. The Mohawk Indians were the constant and active allies of the Tories in all this frontier warfare.

The property and estates of Colonel Livingston and other patriots who had fled from Canada were confiscated and long subsequently he and others received partial compensation for

their losses in grants of land in the "Refugee Tract," on which the City of Columbus now stands.

The first great exodus of refugees after those who had early fled across the borders to Canada, was at the evacuation of Boston by General Howe, in March, 1776. During the occupation of Boston by the British Army from the coming of General Gage in May, 1774, to the evacuation by General Howe, March, 1776, a period of nearly two years, that city had been the hotbed of Loyalism. During that period of occupation the Loyalists had in many ways been a burden to the British commanders but on the other hand they had rendered much service and assistance to the British Army and had so linked their fortunes with the British cause that they could not now be abandoned to the mercy of the victorious Patriots. There was at the time of the evacuation by the British army a large number of small sailing vessels in the Boston harbor and in these the Loyalists were allowed to escape. Many of these small vessels were loaded with such effects as the Loyalists could get together in great haste and confusion and under the escort of three English men of war they sailed away for the inhospitable and dreary and almost uninhabited coast of Nova Scotia. It was the inclement stormy month of March and the suffering of men, women and children in these overcrowded vessels on a tempestuous sea, was such that nothing could add to their misery. They were about a thousand in number and among them thirteen of the thirty-six members of the famous and detested "Mandamus Council." It is not probable that any of them returned to their original homes, although they must necessarily have lived under the hardest conditions in their new country and but for the aid given them by the British government at least many of them must have perished. The British were never again in possession of the City of Boston and much of the properties and estates of the refugees therefrom were confiscated or destroyed.

Throughout the entire war refugees were fleeing to Canada from the Colonies, and from Canada to the Colonies, but it is not within our purpose to narrate these migrations in detail, but only to notice the more important events, and the results.

The next great exodus from this country after the evacuation of Boston by the British army, was at or near the close of the Revolutionary War. When General Howe, defeated and humiliated, sailed away from Boston with his army in March, 1776, it was not known where he would next appear; but New York was generally thought to be his objective point. This was the opinion of General Washington, and he at once commenced moving his army in that direction. Events proved the correctness of his views and wisdom of his action, for in the last days of June, Howe's fleet appeared in the waters of the harbor of New York. He proceeded to disembark his troops on Staten Island, but made no active demonstration until August when in a general action he defeated the colonial army and took possession of the city and surrounding country, which was held by the British until the end of the war and was not completely evacuated by them until late in the year 1783, a period of seven years. During all that period New York was to the Loyalist what Boston had been — a safe harbor of retreat to which they flocked in great numbers from all quarters while thousands of Patriots fled early from the city and found homes and places of refuge as best they could and where they could in the surrounding country. The homes thus deserted by the Patriots were filled by the Tories who flocked to the city to secure protection of the British army. Thus the population of the city almost entirely changed from Patriots to Loyalists.

Great numbers of Loyalists enlisted in the British army. Prof. Flick, who has made a most thorough and careful examination into the details concerning the refugees of New York and has published the result of his researches under the title of "Loyalism in New York," after giving the details, sums up the total enlistment of New York Loyalists in the British army as "at least 15,000 and in the navy 8,500, making a total of 23,000

Loyalist troops" from that state alone. He further says, "This was more than any other colony furnished and perhaps as many as were raised by all the others combined." He further states that "the New York Loyalists fought in every battle on New York soil and in most of the other battles of the war and were repeatedly commended for their gallantry." These figures enable us to understand how it was that so vast a number of persons became refugees from New York at the end of the war.

Prof. John Beach McMaster, professor of American History in the University of Pennsylvania, in his excellent work, entitled: "With the Fathers," states that "the record shows that the number of refugees who left New York in 1783, was 29,244 persons, men, women, children and servants who went off never to return." And Professor Van Tyne in his recent excellent work, entitled "The Loyalists in the American Revolution" (page 293) makes the same estimate.

They for the most part went, or were rather sent to different points on the coast of Nova Scotia. But some of the wealthy and most conspicuous went to England, in part for the purpose of living under the King's government to which they were devoted, and in part to be better able there to press their claim for services to the British cause and for material loss they had suffered. Those who had means and did not want to be arbitrarily transported to places to which they did not want to go made up parties and chartered their own vessels and went to places of their own choosing. But this class was quite limited.

The great body of Tories who had not been active and conspicuous were allowed to remain in this country, but it is the estimate of Prof. Flick that the total exodus of refugees from the Colonies during and at the end of the war to various places amounted to at least 60,000 persons. Most of these went to Canada and Nova Scotia and became permanent residents thereof. Each of these refugees carried with them a heart filled with hatred for the country from which they had been exiled, and for the

people who had compelled their exile, and although more than a century has passed that feeling is still dominant and controlling in the minds and hearts of many of their vastly increased number of descendants now living in Canada.

After a time a few of these refugees returned, having had sad experiences and great sufferings. Some of them were allowed to remain but others were scourged and beaten and otherwise maltreated and compelled to again leave the country. They returned from Canada and Nova Scotia only because they could not endure the hard conditions of life in those provinces where they had suffered almost untold hardships and deprivations. There was nothing else to induce them to return as they had been socially ostracized and their properties and estates had as a rule been confiscated or destroyed.

As an illustration of the extreme feeling on the part of the Patriots against the prominent and active Loyalists the cases of a Mr. Roberts and a Mr. Carlisle, prominent citizens of Philadelphia, may be cited. These gentlemen had been active supporters of the British cause while the British army was in occupation of Philadelphia. When that city was evacuated by the British army they remained behind, thinking to remain in their old homes and enjoy their families and estates. They were seized and tried by a civil tribunal and condemned to be hanged, which sentence was mercilessly carried out, although the wife and children of Mr. Roberts went before the Continental Congress and supplicated for mercy for their husband and father.

When Charleston was evacuated by the British army near the end of the war, some "3,000 Loyalist inhabitants left then or had left prior to that time for Jamaica, St. Augustine, Halifax or New York." When about the same time Savannah was evacuated some 7,000 persons besides the soldiers left that city of which number 5,000 were negro slaves of wealthy planters. Most of these went to St. Augustine, Florida. Although the

wealthy planters, the slave-holding class, led in the Tory movement in the southern colonies, yet a considerable element in the organized Tory bands in Georgia and the Carolinas were of the criminal classes of all kinds, grades and characters. They flocked to the Tory standard for protection from their crimes. They cared nothing about the principles involved and in fact many of them were too ignorant to correctly understand them and too vicious to care, and were indifferent to them. None of these became refugees to Canada and when those colonies had been reconquered from the British, near the end of the war most of this class fled to the wilds of Florida, then under British dominion, and some to the wilderness of the back country where they assimilated with the Cherokees, Creeks and other Indian tribes. Here they were able to actively continue their criminal lives and practices. These vicious, depraved and desperate men were responsible in large part for much of the destruction of life and property of the settlers in that region for many years following.

When Benedict Arnold betrayed and deserted the American cause and fled from West Point, where he was in command of the American forces, to the city of New York, he was rewarded for his treachery, by a commission as Major General in the British Army of Occupation, and authorized to organize a regiment of Americans, which meant Tories and dissatisfied soldiers then in the continental army. He issued a proclamation to the "officers and soldiers of the continental army," which was intended to secure desertions from that army as well as to secure accessions to the British forces from those who had not to that time actively engaged in arms against their country. The result was, that within a short time he organized a force of 1,600 royalists and deserters and was sent by sea to Virginia to assist British General Howe in that section of the country. He was exceedingly bold and active in his new relations and command, and did great damage and created great destruction in Virginia both of life and property. Among other of his desperate acts was the burning of the City of Richmond with all its rich stores of merchan-

dise and such continental army stores as were found there. He also planned to capture Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, but his attempt failed.

In June, 1781, he returned to New York, when he was placed in command of an expedition against the people of his native state, Connecticut, and was in command at the terrible massacre at Ft. Griswold, near New London, which further heightened his infamous fame.

Arnold had left his Loyalist soldiers behind him in Virginia and they were of the forces surrendered by Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. Cornwallis wished to make provisions for them in the terms of the surrender, but this General Washington refused. It was finally agreed in order to relieve the embarrassment, that a British ship might "depart for New York with such troops as Cornwallis might choose to send with it," and in this vessel the unfortunate Tories and deserters were huddled and permitted thus for the time to escape. This escape was, however, only temporary, for on reaching New York they became a part of the great body of those who would have to flee the country, and they with the others were ultimately compelled to flee to Canada and so became and were recognized and treated by the British government as "refugees."

It is greatly to the credit of the English government that it did all that could reasonably be done under the adverse circumstances which obtained at the time to alleviate the unfortunate condition of the fugitive Loyalists. On the other hand the obligations were great. Many of the Loyalists had rendered constant and substantial assistance to the British cause and many more had served in the British army and greatly helped to fight their battles and gain their victories, and had suffered with them in their defeats, and now in their final defeat were doomed to exile from their homes and country, and so the obligations were imperative on the British government to do all that could be done to assist and provide for these, their unfortunate friends and allies. Every dictate of honor and humanity required this. It

was of course impossible to fully relieve their sufferings and hardships or to adequately compensate them for their material losses.

This was equally the case with our own government in respect to the refugees from Canada. Nothing could compensate them for the hardships they endured to say nothing of the material losses which they suffered. But the refugees from Canada had the consolation of a triumphant result in their favor after seven years of cruel war and almost unequaled hardships and sufferings, and that was a mental and heart satisfaction if nothing more. They felt that their cause was just and had triumphed, and that they were at last vindicated; and still more that a new system of popular free government had been established which might prove to be of the greatest good not only to Americans in the present but to humanity in all future time. The results have justified their fondest expectations, as it will now be generally conceded that the establishment of a free and independent government in America was one of the most fortunate events which has occurred in the history of the human race.

At the close of the Revolutionary War there were millions of acres of unsurveyed and unoccupied lands in Canada and Nova Scotia, suitable for cultivation when cleared and improved. Surveying parties were at once sent by the British government to different parts, to lay them out into tracts of various dimensions to be granted to the refugees. In the meantime food, clothing and shelter was provided until they could clear the land, establish homes and become self-supporting. Professor Flick states that "In upper Canada 3,200,000 acres were given to Loyalists, who settled there before 1787." Building materials, tools, and implements for clearing and cultivating lands were distributed. Garden and farm seeds were given. A cow was given to every two families. A bull was provided for each neighborhood. Professor Flick further says, "Before the Canadian Loyalists were established on a self-supporting basis, perhaps

\$4,000,000 had been expended in surveys, official salaries, clothing, food, tools, and stock." In addition claims for losses of real and personal property and for debts and income were presented by the Loyalists in the sum of about \$50,000,000, of which perhaps 30 per cent. was finally paid. Professor Flick closes his elaborate detailed statement as follows: "The total outlay on the part of England during the war and after it closed, for the loyalists in food and clothing, in temporary relief and annuities in establishing them in Nova Scotia and Canada, in money compensations, amounted to not less than \$30,000,000."

This does not include the enormous grants of land. The donation of these millions of acres of land and the expenditure of these millions of money, although forced on the English government by the hard circumstances of the times, proved a benefit and blessing as it secured a rapid development of the resources of these provinces and strengthened in most positive and enduring manner the loyalty of the inhabitants to the British Crown which now after a hundred and twenty years and the passing of more than three generations, seems but little if at all abated. The staunchest and most loyal adherents of the British Crown now in Canada and Nova Scotia are descendants of the refugees.

While the English government was dispensing these bounties in so prompt and ample a manner our own government was doing little or nothing for the patriots who had fled from the British provinces and cast their lives and fortune with the American cause. Of course our colonies were poor in purse, credit and resources after seven years of war and could not at the time respond promptly or adequately to the just demands of the patriots from Canada. Moreover we had at the time but little more than a titular government. However as early as April 23, 1783, notice was taken of the subject and the following resolution was passed by Congress:

"Resolved, That the memorialist be informed that Congress retains a lively sense of the services the Canadian officers and men have rendered the United States and that they are seriously disposed to reward them for their virtuous sufferings in the cause of liberty.

That they be further informed that whenever Congress can consistently make grants of land they will reward in this way as far as may be consistent the officers, men, and other Refugees from Canada."

Two years later (April 13, 1785) Congress passed the following resolutions in respect to the refugees from Nova Scotia:

"Resolved, That Jonathan Eddy and other Refugees from Nova Scotia, on account of their attachment to the interest of the United States be recommended to the humanity and particular attention of the several states in which they respectively reside, and that they be informed that whenever Congress can consistently make grants of land they will reward in this way as far as may be consistent, such Refugees from Nova Scotia as may be disposed to live in the Western country."

So the refugees from both provinces were placed upon the same footing, and their claims subsequently considered and disposed of on the same basis.

But it was not until fifteen years after the close of the war that any active steps were taken and eighteen years before anything substantial was accomplished. On April 7, 1798, an act was passed, the first section of which was as follows:

SECTION 1. *"Resolved, That to satisfy the claims of certain persons claiming lands under the resolutions of Congress, of the twenty-third of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, and the thirteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, as Refugees from the British provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia, the secretary of the department of war be, and is hereby, authorized and directed, to give notice, in one or more of the public papers of each of the states of Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania, to all persons having claims under the said resolutions, to transmit to the war office, within two years after the passing of this act, a just and true account of their claims to the bounty of Congress.*

SEC. 2. *"That no other persons shall be entitled to the benefit of the provisions of the act than those of the following descriptions, or their widows and heirs, viz.: First, those heads of families, and single persons, not members of any such families, who were residents in one of the provinces aforesaid, prior to the fourth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, and who abandoned their settlements in consequence of having given aid to the United States or Colonies, in the Revolutionary War against Great Britain, or with intention to give such aid, continued in the United States, or in their service, during the said war,*

and did not return to reside in the dominions of the King of Great Britain, prior to the twenty-fifth of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. Secondly, the widows and heirs of all such persons as were actually residents, as aforesaid, who abandoned their settlements as aforesaid, and died within the United States, or in their service, during the said war. And thirdly, all persons who were members of families at the time of their coming into the United States, and who, during the war, entered into their service."

SEC. 4. "That, at the expiration of fifteen months, from and after the passing of this act, and from time to time thereafter, it shall be the duty of the secretary for the department of war to lay such evidence of claims, as he may have received before the secretary and comptroller of the treasury, and, with them proceed to examine the testimony, and give their judgment, what quantity of land ought to be allowed to the individual claimants, in proportion to the degree of their respective services, sacrifices, and sufferings, in consequence of their attachment to the cause of the United States; allowing to those of the first class, a quantity not exceeding one thousand acres; and, to the last class, a quantity not exceeding one hundred; making such intermediate classes as the resolutions aforesaid, and distributive justice, may, in their judgment, require; and make report thereof to Congress."

This act laid the foundation of future action, but it was not until February 18, 1801, eighteen years after the close of the war, that any provision was actually made for compensations for the refugees. On that date Congress passed the following act, which was the first provision actually made for the refugees:

SEC. 1. "That the surveyor general be, and he is hereby, directed to cause those fractional townships of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second ranges of townships, which join the southern boundary line of the military lands, to be sub-divided into half sections, containing three hundred and twenty acres each; and to return a survey and description of the same to the secretary of the treasury, on or before the first Monday of December next; and that the said lands be, and they are hereby, set apart and reserved for the purpose of satisfying the claims of persons entitled to lands under the act, entitled 'An act for the relief of the Refugees from the British provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia.'

SEC. 2. "That the secretary of the treasury shall, within thirty days after the survey of lands shall have been returned to him as aforesaid, proceed to determine, by lot, to be drawn in the presence of the secretaries of state and of war, the priority of location of the persons entitled to lands as aforesaid. The persons thus entitled shall severally make their locations on the second Tuesday of January next, and the patents for the

lands thus located shall be granted in the manner directed for military lands, without requiring any fee whatever."

As before stated the land set aside by this act was four and a half miles wide from the line of present Fifth Avenue to Steelton in the city of Columbus, north and south, and east from the east bank of the Scioto river about forty-eight miles. It was intended to extend to the west line of the division of land known as the "Seven Ranges," but it was never surveyed that far for refugee purposes. The tract as surveyed for that purpose contained about 136,000 acres. The part in Franklin County was all embraced in Montgomery and Truro Townships. These two townships extend from the east bank of the Scioto to the east line of Franklin County and were four and one-half miles wide from north to south. Both of these townships were named by refugee influences; that of Montgomery by Judge Edward C. Livingston, whose father as has been stated was with General Montgomery when he fell at Quebec and who was a refugee from Canada; and Truro by Robert Taylor who came from Truro, Nova Scotia, and was the fourth settler in Truro Township.

Under the act of 1798 which provided that proof of claims might be made in advance of any lands being selected for the benefit of refugees, only about fifty claims were made and allowed amounting in all to 45,280 acres. This limited number can be accounted for only for the reason that there was no certainty what provision, if any, would be made, and if made no certainty that the land granted would be of any value or worth owning. So many made no claims, and others who made claims failed to prosecute them.

When by the act of February 18, 1801, the tract of land to be appropriated was determined upon, it was found that it was located in the then wilderness of central Ohio, unsurveyed and uninhabited and of no known value. It was a long, difficult and dreary journey from New York or New England and even from Pennsylvania through the wilderness to reach these lands, and

in the almost twenty years which had elapsed since the close of the war, many, who had just claims had obtained permanent homes in those states which they did not desire or were too advanced in years to leave to venture into the far off wilderness. Some, who had valid claims, had died and as the records show, grants were issued to their heirs. Others not desiring to come into the wilderness sold their lands for what they could get, some to speculators, some to enterprising young men, who wished to try their fortune in the new country. Quite a number of the descendants of those who had established their claim and possibly a few of the original claimants took possession of their grants. A number of descendants of the refugees are still living on and own these lands after the passing of a hundred years. A notable example of this is the venerable Robert N. Livingston now living on his farm, on the banks of Alum Creek, just east of the city of Columbus, where he was born eighty years ago. The land which he owns and occupies came to him from his father, Judge Edward C. Livingston, who received them from his father, Col. James Livingston, to whom the original patents were issued. No deed of alienation has ever passed for these lands. Others of the descendants of Col. Livingston still own considerable portions of these refugee lands.

Under the act of April 7, 1798 about fifty claims were established by proof and accepted by the commission designated under section four of that act and the amount of land awarded amounted to 45,280 acres. But the land had yet to be surveyed and selected and this required another year of delay, so that it was not until the year 1802, twenty years after the close of the war, that any of the claimants had their land set off to them or received any benefit or relief.

By an act of March 16, 1804, the time for proving claims was extended for two years; and by an act of February 24, 1810, time was again extended for two years. Under these extending acts seventeen claims were established and under an act of April 23, 1812, these claimants were awarded land to the extent of

11,500 acres out of the refugee lands. The total number of claims established under all the acts of Congress, were 67 in number and the total amount of land awarded was 56,780 acres, considerably less than one-half of the land set off for that purpose. The small number of claimants is easily accounted for. It was twenty years after the war before the first grants were made, and thirty years before the second grants were made. Seven years of war and twenty years of hardship and struggle, had done their work. Of the 17 claims established under the acts of 1804 and 1810, but three were to original claimants. The others had passed away and the patents were issued to their heirs. The relief granted was both late and inadequate.

By an act of April 29, 1816, "All lands which had been set apart for Refugees and not located," were attached to Chillicothe district (land office) and directed to be sold as other public lands—not to be sold for less than two dollars per acre and thus all the lands of the Refugee tract which had not to that time been granted, were disposed of as other public lands.

Mention has been made of the proclamation of Benedict Arnold, when he deserted to the British cause intended to induce desertions from the colonial Army and to secure the deserters to enlist in the British cause. As heretofore seen he was but too successful in his nefarious purpose. But this was not the first proclamation of that kind nor the most effective and disastrous. Early in the conflict the British government issued a proclamation inviting with liberal promises of gold and other rewards, officers and privates to desert the American cause and enlist in the British service. This proclamation was in force through the war. The effect was very demoralizing to the colonial army and discouraging to the patriots of the country. Under the hard circumstances which obtained as to food, clothing, pay and hardships generally in the colonial army, desertions on the part of certain classes of recruits were easily induced and became discourag-

ingly frequent. Washington was greatly grieved on account of these numerous desertions. The British government and the Tory party in this country thoroughly believed that the loyalists were in such force and strength that with small assistance on the part of the English army the rebellion would surely and speedily be overthrown; and further that many in the Colonial army were anxious to desert and would do so if any inducement was offered.

In this view and belief the British government in 1776, issued a proclamation inviting and encouraging desertions from the Colonial army, the effect of which may be judged by the statement of Joseph Galloway the leading Tory and trusted British agent who testified that 2,300 deserters from the Colonial army came into his office at Philadelphia, one-half of whom were Irish, one-fourth English and Scotch, and the rest, Americans. The promise of English gold had a disastrous effect on many of the colonial recruits and greatly depleted the Colonial army.

To meet this movement on the part of the British, the Continental Congress on August 14, 1776, passed a resolution as follows:

"BOUNTIES TO FOREIGN DESERTERS."

"WHEREAS, The parliament of Great Britain have thought fit by a late act, not only to invite our troops to desert our service, but to direct a compulsion of our people taken at sea, to serve against their country;

Resolved, Therefore, That these states will receive all such foreigners who shall leave the armies of his Britannic majesty in America, and shall choose to become members of any of these states; and they shall be protected in the free exercise of their respective religions, and be invested with the rights, privileges, and immunities of natives, as established by the laws of these states; and moreover that this congress will provide for every such person fifty acres of unappropriated lands, in some of these states, to be held by him and his heirs in absolute property.

"That this congress shall give to all such of the said foreign officers, as shall leave the armies of his Britannic majesty in America, and choose to become citizens of these states, unappropriated lands, in the following quantities and proportions, to them and their heirs in absolute dominion. To a colonel, 1,000 acres; to a lieutenant colonel, 800 acres; to a major, 600 acres; to a captain, 400 acres; to a lieutenant 300 acres; to an ensign, 200 acres; to every non-commissioned officer, 100 acres; and to every officer or person employed in the said foreign corps and whose office or employment is not here specifically named, in the like proportion to their rank or pay in the said corps."

The remarkable result was that while many thousands deserted from the Colonial to the British army at all periods of the war and so ultimately became refugees to Canada, there seems to have been but a single desertion from the British to the Colonial Army, who made any claim under this resolution and his name was Nicholas Ferdinand Westfall. On the 27th of March, 1792, Congress passed an act, the 6th section of which is as follows:

SECTION 6. "That there be granted to Nicholas Ferdinand Westfall, who left the British service and joined the army of the United States, during the late war, one hundred acres of unappropriated land in the western territory of the United States, free of all charges."

This seems to have been the only grant made in pursuance of the preceding resolution.

THE KENTUCKY REVIVAL AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE MIAMI VALLEY.

BY J. P. MAC LEAN.

The Miami Valley properly embraces all the country north of the Ohio that is drained by the Great and Little Miami rivers and their tributaries. In this paper it is used to designate the southwestern quarter of the State of Ohio, or that territory lying west of a line drawn due south from Columbus to the Ohio river and south of another line drawn due west from Columbus to the State of Indiana. This district was greatly excited and stirred up by the "Great Kentucky Revival," and its camp-meetings lasted for a period of over fifty years.

Owing to the rapidity of the increase in population and the advent of foreigners with their variant sectaries, it is difficult to measure the depth of the influence of the enthusiasm resultant from the religious upheaval of 1801. However diverse may have been the elements to be operated upon, there was sufficient time and opportunity to carry out the work of the reformers.

The year 1800 showed Ohio with a population of about 45,000 and Cincinnati with about 500. In 1810 the city had increased to 2,540 and the entire state to 230,760. The population was principally made up of emigrants from the older states. Kentucky, with a population of 73,677 in 1790, had increased to 220,959 in 1800 and 406,511 in 1810. These figures show both states to have been sparsely settled, when considered with the present population. The settlements were almost wholly communities of farmers. Books and newspapers were but sparingly supplied to them, and religion was their chief intellectual food. Without the advantages enjoyed by their descendants, scattered, though naturally gregarious, a religious revival would hold out its allurements to all alike.

STATE OF SOCIETY.

The early settlers of both Ohio and Kentucky, for the most part, were Christians by profession. Different denominations of religionists were early in the field, employing their zeal in making proselytes and propagating their respective tenets. The great majority ranked among the Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists. The first church organized in Ohio was the Baptist church at Columbia, near Cincinnati, in 1790, and the build-



[Columbia Baptist Church, constituted by Dr. Stephen Gano, in 1790.]

ing erected in 1793, which stood until 1835. In 1797, besides the Presbyterian church at Cincinnati, there were preaching points at Clear Creek (a short distance south of Franklin), Turtle Creek (now Union Village, west of Lebanon), Bethany (two miles east of Lebanon) and Big Prairie (at the mouth of Dick's Creek in Butler county, afterwards called Orangedale). Of these

country congregations the largest and most influential was Turtle Creek.

The various sects, acknowledging one another as of the same parent stock, "stood entirely separate as to any communion or fellowship, and treated each other with the highest marks of hostility; wounding, captivating and bickering another, until their attention was called off by the appearance of" deism. As early as 1796 a religious apathy appears to have pervaded the pulpit. One writes, "the dead state of religion is truly discouraging here, as well as elsewhere;" another says, "I have this winter past preached with difficulty, my heart but little enjoyed," and still another, "I see but little prospect of encouragement."* However dark the picture may be painted, the despondent were soon awakened to what they deemed a season of refreshment.

THE KENTUCKY REVIVAL.

During the year 1800, on the Gasper, in Logan County Ky., on land now owned and occupied by the Shakers, of West Union, there began a religious revival, which was the precursor of the most wonderful upheaval ever experienced in Christian work. The excitement commenced under the labors of John Rankin. Where this awakening commenced a church still stands, and the Shakers allow it to be occupied by the reformers, who look upon it as their Mecca. Almost immediately James McGready, also a Presbyterian clergyman, was seized with this same spirit as possessed by Rankin. He has been described as a homely man, with sandy hair and rugged features, and was so terrific in holding forth the terrors of hell that he was called a son of thunder. He pictured out "the furnace of hell with its red-hot coals of God's wrath as large as mountains;" he would open to the sinner's view "the burning lake of hell, to see its fiery billows rolling, and to hear the yells and groans of the damned ghosts roaring under the burning wrath of an angry God." Under his preaching the people would fall down with a loud cry and lie powerless, or else groaning, praying, or crying to God for mercy. The news of the excitement spread not only over Kentucky, but also

* McNemar's "Kentucky Revival," p. 13.

into Ohio and Tennessee, and people rushed to the Gasper to witness the scenes and returned to their homes carrying a measure of the enthusiasm with them. Among those drawn to the spot was Barton W Stone, afterwards the head of a new sect. Early in the spring of 1801 he repaired to the scene of excitement, which was now carried on by several Presbyterian ministers, headed by James McGready. "There, on the edge of a prairie in Logan County, Kentucky, the multitudes came together, and continued a number of days and nights encamped on the ground; during which time worship was carried on in some part of the encampment. The scene to me was new and passing strange. It baffled description. Many, very many, fell down, as men slain in battle, and continued for hours together in an apparently breathless and motionless state—sometimes for a few moments reviving, and exhibiting symptoms of life by a deep groan, or piercing shriek, or by a prayer for mercy most fervently uttered."* At this time Stone was preaching at Cane Ridge and Concord, in Bourbon county, under the Presbytery of Transylvania. He returned home, believing that he had "witnessed the work of God." Multitudes awaited his return at Cane Ridge; and he effected the congregation "with awful solemnity, and many returned home weeping." That night he preached at Concord where "two little girls were struck down under the preaching of the word, and in every respect were exercised as those were in the south of Kentucky. Their addresses made deep impressions on the congregation. On the next day I returned to Cane Ridge, and attended my appointment at William Maxwell's. I soon heard of the good effects of the meeting on the Sunday before. Many were solemnly engaged in seeking salvation, and some had found the Lord, and were rejoicing in Him. Among these last was my particular friend Nathaniel Rogers, a man of first respectability and influence in the neighborhood. Just as I arrived at the gate, my friend Rogers and his lady came up; as soon as he saw me, he shouted aloud the praises of God. We hurried into each other's embrace, he still praising the Lord aloud. The crowd left the house, and hurried to this novel scene. In less than twenty

* "Biography of Stone," p. 34.

minutes, scores had fallen to the ground—paleness, trembling, and anxiety appeared in all—some attempted to fly from the scene panic stricken, but they either fell, or returned immediately to the crowd, as unable to get away.”*

The revival became a veritable contagion. Its operations flew abroad and stirred up the curious, the sincere and the indifferent. Multitudes poured into the various meetings and the strange exercises increasing, no respect for stated hours was observed, and then it was deemed expedient to encamp on the ground, and continue the meeting day and night. To the various encampments they flocked in hundreds and thousands; on foot, on horseback, and in various vehicles.

By January 30, 1801, the excitement had reached Nashville, Barren, Muddy, Knoxville and other places. Owing to the multitudes attending the meetings, the encampments took the name of “Camp Meetings.” The camp-meeting once so popular had its origin in Kentucky, in 1801. It grew out of a necessity, but was prolonged until its usefulness had not only departed, but became a stench, a byword, a demoralizing power and a blighting curse.

As camp meetings became the order of the day, the first of note began at Cabin Creek, Lewis County, Kentucky, May 22, 1801, and continued four days and three nights. Attending this meeting were persons from Cane Ridge and Concord, and also Eagle Creek, in Ohio. The next general camp-meeting, was at Concord, in Bourbon county in May and June, same year. There were about 4,000 people present, among whom were seven Presbyterian clergymen. Of these, four spoke against the work until noon of the fourth day, when they professed to be convinced that “it was the work of God.” This meeting continued five days and four nights. The next was held at Eagle Creek, Adams County, Ohio, beginning June 5th, and continuing four days and three nights. The country being new, the outpouring was not so great. Following this was the one at Pleasant Point, Kentucky, which equalled, or even surpassed any of the previous mentioned. This meeting spread the work extensively through Bourbon, Fayette

* *Ibid*, p. 36.

and adjoining counties. The meeting at Indian Creek, Harrison county, began July 24th, and continued nearly a week. Next came the great meeting at Cane Ridge, seven miles from Paris, beginning August 6th. The number of people on the ground at one time was supposed to have numbered 20,000. The encampment consisted of one hundred and thirty-five wheel-carriages, and tents proportioned to the people. Rev. James Crawford, who kept as accurate account as he could on that occasion, computed there were 3,000 that fell on that occasion, or an average of 500 a day.

The people among whom the revival began were generally Calvinists, and all the principal leaders were clergymen of the Presbyterian church; yet other sects were rapidly swept into the maelstrom. Generally the first affected were children, and from them the contagion spread. "A boy, from appearance about twelve years old, retired from the stand in time of preaching, under a very extraordinary impression; and having mounted a log, at some distance, and raising his voice, in a very affecting manner, he attracted the main body of the people in a few minutes. With tears streaming from his eyes, he cried aloud to the wicked, warning them of their danger, denouncing their certain doom, if they persisted in their sins; expressing his love to their souls, and desire that they would turn to the Lord and be saved. He was held up by two men, and spoke for about an hour with that convincing eloquence that could be inspired only from above. When his strength seemed quite exhausted and language failed to describe the feelings of his soul, he raised his hand, and dropping his handkerchief, wet with sweat from his little face, cried out, 'Thus, O sinner! shall you drop into hell, unless you forsake your sins and turn to the Lord.' At that moment some fell, like those who are shot in battle, and the work spread in a manner which human language cannot describe." *

One of the affecting speakers was Vincy McNemar, daughter of Richard, nine years of age. Her father held her on his arm while she addressed the multitude.†

* McNemar's "Kentucky Revival," p. 25.

† Vincy afterwards became a prominent Shaker. I have a kerchief owned by her, presented to me by Eldress Clymena Miner.

PHYSICAL PHENOMENA.

The strange manifestations appertained to all the camp meetings. What would be a description of one would be the same recital in all, perhaps, varying only in excess. These excesses have thus been described by Barton W. Stone: "The bodily agitations or exercises, attending the excitement in the beginning of this century, were various, and called by various names:—as the falling exercise—the jerks—the dancing exercise—the barking exercise—the laughing and singing exercise, etc.—The falling exercise was very common among all classes, the saints and sinners of every age and of every grade, from the philosopher to the clown. The subject of this exercise would, generally, with a piercing scream, fall like a log on the floor, earth, or mud, and appear as dead. * * * I have seen very many pious persons fall in the same way, from a sense of the danger of their unconverted children, brothers, or sisters—from a sense of the danger of their neighbors, and of the sinful world. I have heard them agonizing in tears and strong crying for mercy to be shown to sinners, and speaking like angels to all around.

The jerks cannot be so easily described. Sometimes the subject of the jerks would be affected in some one member of the body, and sometimes in the whole system. When the head alone was affected, it would be jerked backward and forward, or from side to side, so quickly that the features of the face could not be distinguished. When the whole system was affected, I have seen the person stand in one place, and jerk backward and forward in quick succession, their heads nearly touching the floor behind and before. All classes, saints and sinners, the strong as well as the weak, were thus affected. I have inquired of those thus affected. They could not account for it; but some have told me that those were among the happiest seasons of their lives. I have seen some wicked persons thus affected, and all the time cursing the jerks, while they were thrown to the earth with violence. Though so awful to behold, I do not remember that any one of the thousands I have seen ever sustained an injury in body. This was as strange as the exercise itself.

The dancing exercise. This generally began with the jerks, and was peculiar to professors of religion. The subject, after jerking awhile, began to dance, and then the jerks would cease. Such dancing was indeed heavenly to the spectators; there was nothing in it like levity, nor calculated to excite levity in the beholders. The saints of heaven shone on the countenance of the subject, and assimilated to angels appeared the whole person. Sometimes the motion was quick and sometimes slow. Thus they continued to move forward and backward in the same track or alley till nature seemed exhausted, and they would fall prostrate on the floor or earth, unless caught by those standing by. While thus exercised, I have heard their solemn praises and prayers ascending to God.

The barking exercise (as opponents contemptuously called it), was nothing but the jerks. A person affected with the jerks, especially in his head, would often make a grunt, or bark, if you please, from the suddenness of the jerk. This name of barking seems to have had its origin from an old Presbyterian preacher of East Tennessee. He had gone into the woods for private devotion, and was seized with the jerks. Standing near a sapling, he caught hold of it, to prevent his falling, and as his head jerked back, he uttered a grunt or kind of noise similar to a bark, his face being turned upwards. Some wag discovered him in this position, and reported that he found him barking up a tree.

The laughing exercise was frequent, confined solely with the religious. It was a loud, hearty laughter, but one *sui generis*; it excited laughter in none else. The subject appeared rapturously solemn, and his thoughts excited solemnity in saints and sinners. It is truly indescribable.

The running exercise was nothing more than, that persons feeling something of these bodily agitations, through fear, attempted to run away, and thus escape from them; but it commonly happened that they ran not far, before they fell, or became so greatly agitated that they could proceed no farther.

* * *

I shall close this chapter with the singing exercise. This is more unaccountable than anything else I ever saw. The sub-

ject in a very happy state of mind would sing most melodiously, not from the mouth or nose, but entirely in the breast, the sounds issuing thence. Such music silenced everything, and attracted the attention of all. It was most heavenly. None could ever be tired of hearing it."*

Richard McNemar, who wrote the most complete history of the Kentucky Revival, applies the above exercises to the Schismatics, or New Lights, or Christians, as they called themselves, but also supplies another, which he called "The rolling exercise." "This consisted in being cast down in a violent manner, doubled with the head and feet together, and rolled over and over like a wheel, or stretched in a prostrate manner, turned swiftly over and over like a log. This was considered very debasing and mortifying, especially if the person was taken in this manner through the mud and sullied therewith from head to foot." (Page 64.)

PERSONNEL OF THE REVIVAL.

While the revival was distinctively a Presbyterian one, yet, the Methodist Church was drawn almost bodily into it. While individuals from other sects participated in the meetings and came under the influence of the mesmeric current, yet the respective denominations of these latter were not thereby materially affected. Nor is it to be presumed that every individual who witnessed this carnival of folly were deluded into the conviction that "it was the work of the Lord." Stone admitted† that "in the wonderful things that appeared in the great excitement," "that there were many eccentricities, and much fanaticism," which "was acknowledged by its warmest advocates." The people were gathered into an atmosphere pregnant with animal excitement, mesmeric force and religious zeal which would readily operate on the sensitives, the impulsives, the excitable, the ignorant and the weak. The character of the leaders, however, is a guarantee of their honesty. Even in later campmeetings which had a blighting influence on community, it must be admitted that the intent was for the public weal.

* *Biography of B. W. Stone*, p. 39.

† *Biography*, p. 42.

It would be impossible, even to call by name all the active participants in the great revival. However there are characters that stand out conspicuously in every movement supported by influence and numbers. To Richard McNemar has been assigned the post of first importance. He regarded the phenomena as a miraculous work. He was tall and gaunt, commanding in appearance, with piercing, restless eyes, ever in motion, with a very expressive countenance. His manner of preaching was fervent and exciting, full of animation and vociferation, which gave him great power over his audiences. With all this he was a classical scholar and read Latin, Greek and Hebrew with ease.

Probably next in importance was Barton W. Stone, who has been described as a man of great independence of mind, and of firmness and decision of character. As an orator he was gifted with the power of swaying his audience. John Dunlavy possessed a clear, penetrating mind, was scholarly in his habits, but not very aggressive. He inclined to studious habits. David Purviance possessed energy, clear perceptions, honesty of purpose, and disinterested motives. Malcolm Worley, possessing much ability, was excitable and somewhat eccentric, but never at a loss to act when convinced of his duties. Robert Marshall was conservative, lenient, and somewhat vacillating.

DISCORD AND DISUNION.

Whatever zeal may have been felt or displayed in the revival, there were elements of discord that had their origin anterior to the awakening. Heresy had been implanted in the hearts of certain of the Presbyterian ministers even before the year 1800. Just what influence had been exerted by the Methodist doctrine of free grace, might be difficult to fathom at this late date; but as is well known, the doctrinally tutored, though illiterate pioneer Methodist preachers did herculean service in storming the citadel of ultra-Calvinism. In the year 1793 Barton W. Stone was a candidate for admission into Orange Presbyterian in North Carolina. Previously he had been a teacher in a

Methodist school in Washington, Georgia. In 1797, we find he was in the Presbyterian churches at Cane Ridge and Concord, in Kentucky, but did not receive "the call" until 1798. "Knowing that at my ordination I should be required to adopt the Confession of Faith, as the system of doctrines taught in the Bible, I determined to give it a careful examination once more. This was to me almost the beginning of sorrows. I stumbled at the doctrine of Trinity as taught in the Confession; I labored to believe it, but could not conscientiously subscribe to it. Doubts, too, arose in my mind on the doctrines of election, reprobation, and predestination as there taught. I had before this time learned from my superiors the way of divesting those doctrines of their hard, repulsive features, and admitted them as true, yet unfathomable mysteries."* When the day of ordination came, Stone frankly informed Doctor James Blythe and Robert Marshall, the state of his doubts. In vain they labored to remove his difficulties and objections; but when Stone informed them that he was willing to receive the Confession as far as it was "consistent with the word of God," upon that admission the Presbytery of Transylvania ordained him. By the year 1801 he had cordially abandoned Calvinism, though still retaining his charge at Cane Ridge and Concord.

The minutes of the Presbytery of Washington, at its session at Springfield (Springdale, Ohio) on November 11, 1801, show the decision respecting charges that had been made against Richard McNemar, respecting certain doctrines advocated by him.

It should be specially noted that at the commencement of the "revival, preachers in general, who were truly engaged in it, omitted the doctrines of election and reprobation, as explained in the Confession of Faith, and proclaimed a free salvation to all men, through the blood of the Lamb. They held forth the promises of the gospel in their purity and simplicity, without the contradictory explanations, and double meaning, which scholastic divines have put upon them, to make them agree with the doctrines of the Confession. This omission caused their preaching

* *Ibid.* p. 29.

to appear somewhat different from what had been common among Presbyterians; and although no direct attack was made on these doctrines, as formerly explained; yet a murmuring arose because they were neglected in the daily ministration. This murmuring was heard in different parts of the country; but, notwithstanding, preachers and people treated with each other with toleration and forbearance, until a direct opposition to the new mode of preaching took place in the congregation of Cabin Creek."* These complaints, as previously noted, were formulated against Richard McNemar.

As the campmeetings were places where clergymen resorted as well as the multitude, it is but natural to assume that kindred spirits were attracted together, and thus were enabled to exchange opinions and advise with one another. The tendency of such communications, when free and unrestricted, would, sooner or later, constitute dissimilar aggregations. Hence it is not singular that other sects should be formed. Out of the Kentucky revival there originated three sects, or religious denominations entirely new to the western country. The first to notice is the

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIANS.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church takes its name from the Cumberland Presbytery, which was a part of the Synod of Kentucky. This presbytery was not constituted until 1802, which then was struck off from Transylvania. Cumberland Presbytery was greatly divided on the subject of the great revival then in the full force of its existence. The great tide of immigration into the Cumberland Presbytery and the interest awakened by the revival, showed a dearth of preachers and religious teachers. Under the advice of Rev. David Rice, then the oldest Presbyterian minister in Kentucky, a number of men were licensed to preach who did not possess a classical education. Against this procedure a protest was entered by those not in sympathy with the revival. In the new Presbytery the majority favored the revival work and the licensing of probationers without a classical education.

* *Ibid*, p. 148.

During the controversy about the revival, the Cumberland Presbytery licensed and ordained a number who took exceptions to the idea of "Fatality" as expressed in the doctrines of Decrees and Election in chapter 3 of the Confession. The Synod of 1804 cited all the members of Cumberland Presbytery to appear at its next meeting. The citation was disobeyed on the grounds of want of authority. Owing to the action of the Synod, in other matters, a new Presbytery was proclaimed and met March 20, 1810. This Presbytery accepted the Confession of Faith, excepting the idea of fatality; but in 1813 when the first Synod was formed, a brief doctrinal statement was adopted, which gave the points of difference from the Westminster Confession. The points expressed against the idea of "Fatality" are "(1) There are no eternal reprobates. (2) Christ died not for a part only, but for all mankind. (3) That all infants dying in infancy are saved through Christ and the sanctification of the Spirit. (4) The Spirit of God operates on the world; or, as coextensively as Christ has made the Atonement in such a manner as to leave all men inexcusable."

This young denomination did not stretch its arm into the Miami country until long after the ground was preoccupied. The first church was established at Lebanon, in Warren county, in 1835. At the present time there are twelve churches, seven of which sustain preaching all the time. Their buildings represent a value of \$40,000. What influence this church has exerted in the Miami could not be told, or wherein it has prepared the way for other thought. Sometimes church literature is more potent than the congregation. Of the literature of this denomination I am absolutely ignorant, not even knowing the title of a single volume. Hence I must rest this part of the discussion with the facts above enumerated derived from sources without the Church, excepting the statistics.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The sect, or new denomination, growing out of the Kentucky revival, which has exerted most power over the Miami, is generally called "New Lights," and sometimes "Schismatics." The sect repudiates both these names, and styles itself "The Christian

Church." According to Levi Purviance it assumed the name Christian in 1804.* The origin of this sect in the West may be said to date its birth at the time charges were preferred against Richard McNemar, although the actual separation did not take place until the month of May, 1803. For some unaccountable reason Richard McNemar passes over his trial, but says that a particular account of the separation "is published in a pamphlet, entitled, *An apology for renouncing the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky*, printed in Lexington (K.), 1804." This *apology* is published in full in the "Biography of B. W. Stone," covering one hundred pages. The historical part, with which we are concerned, embraces forty-four pages, written by Robert Marshall. The second part pertains to dogma, written by Stone, and part three by John Thompson discusses the Westminster Confession of Faith.

The trial of McNemar brought permanently out the fact that similar views were entertained by John Thompson, John Dunlavy, Robert Marshall and B. W. Stone. To these must be added David Purviance, then a licentiate. Soon after Matthew Houston was added to the list. At the time of the final separation, McNemar, Dunlavy and Thompson were in Ohio and Stone, Marshall, Houston and Purviance in Kentucky. As the *Apology* is entirely too long to quote in this connection, an epitome of the first part must suffice:

On November 3, 1801, three elders of Cabin-creek Presbyterian church, made formal charges to the Washington Presbytery, against their pastor, Richard McNemar, which charges are thus stated:

"1. He reprobated the idea of sinners attempting to pray, or being exhorted thereto, before they were believers in Christ.

2. He has condemned those who urge that convictions are necessary, or that prayer is proper in the sinner.

3. He has expressly declared, at several times, that Christ has purchased salvation for all the human race, without distinction.

4. He has expressly declared that a sinner has power to believe in Christ at any time.

* *Biography of David Purviance*, p. 49.

5. That a sinner has as much power to act faith, as to act unbelief; and reprobated every idea in contradiction thereto, held by persons of a contrary opinion.

6. He has expressly said, that faith consisted in the creature's persuading himself assuredly, that Christ died for him in particular; that doubting and examining into evidences of faith, were inconsistent with, and contrary to the nature of faith; and in order to establish these sentiments, he explained away these words — *Faith is the gift of God*, by saying it was Christ Jesus, the object of faith there meant, and not faith itself; and also, these words, "No man can come to me, except the Father who hath sent me draw him," by saying that the drawing there meant, was Christ offered in the Gospel; and that the Father knew no other drawing or higher power, than holding up his Son in the Gospel."

At the meeting of the Presbytery McNemar made the following explanation of his ideas:

Upon the first charge, he observed, that faith was the first thing God required of the sinner; and that he had no idea of him praying but in faith.

On the second, that the question in debate was, whether any other considerations are necessary to authorize the soul to believe than those which arise from the testimony of God, in his word.

On the third, that Christ is by office the Savior of all men.

On the fourth, that the sinner is capable of receiving the testimony of God at any time he heard it.

Upon the fifth, that the sinner is as capable of believing as disbelieving, according to the evidence presented to the view of his mind.

The first part of the sixth charge was groundless.

On the second, which respects doubting and self-examination, his ideas were, that doubting the veracity of God, and looking into ourselves for evidence, as the foundation of our faith, is contrary to Scripture.

On the third part, viz., explaining away those Scriptures, he replied, if that was explaining them away, he had done it.

As no person present purposed to substantiate the charges, the same was dismissed as irregular. This action of the Presbytery quenched the flame of opposition, and all parties became reconciled.

In 1802 McNemar took charge of the Turtlecreek church (near Lebanon, Ohio), where his labors met with abundant success. At the meeting of Presbytery in Cincinnati, October 6, 1802, an elder of Rev. James Kemper's congregation (Cincinnati), entered a verbal complaint against McNemar, as a propagator of false doctrine. The accused insisted the question was out of order, for charges must be made in writing. Nevertheless Presbytery proceeded to examine him "on the fundamental doc-



CINCINNATI IN 1802.

trines of the sacred Scriptures," which were election, human depravity, the atonement, etc. The finding was that McNemar held these doctrines in a sense different from that in which Calvinists generally believe them, and that his sentiments were "hostile to the interests of all true religion." Notwithstanding this condemnation he was appointed one-half his time at Turtlecreek, until the next stated session: two Sabbaths at Orangeville; two at Clear-creek; two at Beulah; one at the forks of Mad river; and the rest at discretion.

At the next session at Springfield* in April, 1803, a petition from a number of persons, in the congregations of Beulah, Turtlecreek, Clear-creek, Bethany, Hopewell, Dicks-creek, and Cincinnati, was presented praying for a re-examination of McNemar,

* Springfield, some eleven miles north of Cincinnati.

and that Rev. John Thompson undergo a like examination. The Presbytery refused to acquiesce. A petition, signed by sixty persons of the Turtle-creek congregation, asked for the whole of McNemar's time, which was granted. Kemper, Wallace, Reader, and Wheeler protested against the action of the Presbytery. The sentiment of the majority of Presbytery had changed and was now in sympathy with the accused.

In the interval between the meeting of Presbytery and that of Synod, no pains were taken by the disaffected members to bring about an accommodation. Through the committee of overtures the matter was brought before the Synod, held at Lexington, September, 1803. The Synod sustained the action of the Presbytery at Cincinnati, except that part which assigned appointments to McNemar, and condemned the action at Springfield. The Synod further voted to enter upon an examination of both McNemar and Thompson. While the Synod was deliberating upon the last proposition (September 10), Messrs. Marshall, Dunlavy, McNemar, Stone and Thompson, entered the meeting and formally protested against its action. The protest was read, and its advocates retired. Synod then appointed a committee consisting of David Rice, Matthew Houston, James Welsh and Joseph Howe to confer with the aggrieved, which latter offered to answer any questions proposed by Synod, provided all questions and answers should be in writing; that they should be constituted into one Presbytery, and that all charges of doctrine against them should be according to the book of discipline. On a motion to accede to these proposals the following voted in the affirmative: M. Houston, J. Welsh, J. Howe, and W. Robinson, ministers; J. Henderson, J. Wardlow and C. McPheeters, elders; those opposed, A. Cameron, P. Tull, J. Blythe, J. Lyle, R. Stewart, S. Rannels, J. Kemper, J. Campbell, S. Finley, ministers; J. Moore, John Henderson and T. Bennington, elders.

Immediately, after the action of the Synod, Robert Marshall, John Dunlavy, Richard McNemar, Barton W. Stone and John Thompson, withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky, and formally constituted the Presbytery of Springfield, and formulated a circular letter addressed to the congrega-

tions under their care. Late in the evening a resolution was received from the Synod which had appointed a committee to inquire into such objections as they might have to the Confession of Faith. Before the answer was received Synod suspended the protesting members, and declared their parishes without ministers. The Springfield Presbytery was dissolved at Cane Ridge, Bourbon county, Ky., June 28, 1804, by Marshall, Dunlavy, McNemar, Stone, Thompson and David Purviance.

McNemar has been described to have been a mild and unassuming man up to the time of charges of heresy being made against him. His trials appear to have awakened all the resources of his strong nature. With enthusiasm he began his work at Turtle Creek, and in summer his congregations were so large that the meetings were held in the grove near his church. The strange physical phenomena of the revival attended his ministrations in Warren county, Ohio. At Turtle Creek almost all the adult persons in a large congregation would fall in a short time and lie unconscious, with hardly a sign of breathing or beating of the pulse.

The dissolution of the Springfield Presbytery launched a new denomination in the West. The preachers carried their churches with them. Every Presbyterian church in southwestern Ohio was swept into this new organization except those at Duck Creek and Round Bottom; and even the church at Cincinnati was fairly tainted with the new doctrines and methods. The Turtle Creek church, with uplifted hands, was constituted a schismatic church. The influence of Richard McNemar was irresistible. Before the close of the year 1804, Turtle Creek, Eagle Creek, Springfield (Springdale), Orangedale, Clear Creek, Beaver Creek and Salem had joined the new movement. A demand for more preachers went up. Malcolm Worley became active, and Andrew Ireland, John Purviance, David Kirkpatrick and William Caldwell, were sent out two and two as traveling evangelists. Afterwards Nathan Worley became a tower of strength. Camp meetings were still popular and were used to extend the general influence. The custom of giving the right hand of fellowship was introduced, and the name of "brother" and "sister" applied to church members. The spirit of the Kentucky revival, especially in camp meetings

was kept aflame. "Praying, shouting, jerking, barking, or rolling; dreaming, prophesying, and looking as through a glass, at the infinite glories of Mount Zion, just about to break open upon the world." "They practiced a mode of prayer, which was as singular, as the situation in which they stood, and the faith by which they were actuated. According to their proper name of distinction, they stood *separate* and *divided*, each one for one; and in this capacity, they offered up each their separate cries to God, in one united harmony of sound; by which the doubtful footsteps of those who were in search of the meeting, might be directed, sometimes to the distance of miles." *

The year 1805 opened most favorably to the new sect. Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee were in their grasp. It appeared to be an irresistible force opposed to the older and better organized sects. The name of the sect (Christian) was most charming to the ear. It carried the believer back to Apostolic times. Then there was the pleasing pronouncement that the Bible alone was its creed. Man-made statements and creeds must be trampled under foot. Little did they realize that a creed was a creed just the same whether written or spoken. There was a consensus of opinion, and to this unwritten and unsigned creed they were just as devoted as was the Presbyterian to his Confession of Faith. I have heard, myself, just as strong doctrinal points discussed from the Christian (New Light) pulpit as I ever listened to from those reputed to be most conservative in theology. Moreover, an old friend of mine, as firm a believer in Christianity as it was possible to believe, was expelled for heresy, from one of the very churches that was wrenched from Calvinism and brought under the new order.

But the year 1805 awoke the revivalists, or schismatics, or New Lights, or Christians, to a sense of their danger. The rude awakening was sudden, powerful and disastrous. It has been sung that

"Five preachers formed a body, in eighteen hundred three,
From Anti-christ's false systems to set the people free;
His doctrine and his worship in pieces they did tear —
But ere the scene was ended these men became a snare;"

* *Kentucky Revival*, p. 73.

but it was doomed that only one of this number should continue with the new order of things. In 1805, both Richard McNemar and John Dunlavy joined the Shakers, and within a few years Robert Marshall and John Thompson returned to the Presbyterian fold. Barton W. Stone — of all the prophets — was left to encourage the saints. The defection placed him at the head of the organization, and he was soon after known as "Father Stone." Nor was the disaster to rest here, for calamity after calamity was in the track of the Shaker propaganda, for church after church, and too the very strongest, were swallowed up by the disciples of Mother Ann Lee. This alarmed several of the preachers and converts "who fled from us and joined the different sects around us. The sects triumphed at our distress, and watched for our fall." "Never did I exert myself more than at this time to save the people from this vortex of ruin. I yielded to no discouragement, but labored night and day, far and near, among the churches where the Shakers went. By this means their influence was happily checked in many places. I labored so hard and constantly that a profuse spitting of blood ensued. Our broken ranks were once more rallied under the standard of heaven, and were soon led on once more to victory." *

The Shaker trial was "a fiery one" to Stone and his remaining coadjutors. Five years later (1810), the defection of Marshall and Thompson added to the sorrows. They issued a pamphlet entitled, "A brief historical account of sundry things in the doctrines and state of the Christian, or as it is commonly called, the New Light Church. — By R. Marshall and J. Thompson, Ministers of the Gospel and members of said church, containing their testimony against several doctrines, held in that church, and its disorganized state. Together with some reasons, why these two brethren purpose to seek for a more pure and orderly connection." This pamphlet induced several young men who had engaged in the ministry also to follow into the Presbyterian ranks. The pamphlet brought out a reply from David Purviance.

During all the troubles that rapidly accumulated upon the infant sect David Purviance and Barton W. Stone stood together and defended their citadel from the repeated assaults and rebuilt

* *Memoirs of Stone*, p. 62.

the ramparts as rapidly as they were thrown down. Neither was a leader of great ability. Their success was due more from the momentum created by the revival than any special management on their part. It is, however, probably true the bark would have sunk beneath the waves had they not piloted it through the storm. The success of this church, during its entire history, is unique; for never has it presented a leader of marked ability. Even its literature is mediocre. The formal existence has covered a period of a hundred years, and yet the literature of the entire organization, East, West, North and South, according to the "Christian Annual for 1903," embraces but two books and two pamphlets in the historical group; in the biographical, twenty; theological and doctrinal, thirty, and miscellaneous, thirty-three.

The present condition of the Christian church, as given by the same Annual is thus related:

Miami conference—embracing parts of Hamilton, Preble, Darke, Shelby, Miami, Montgomery, Warren, Green, Clark and Champaign counties. Ordained preachers 56; licentiates 5; churches 55, of which 25 are country. Only 11 have preaching full time. Membership 7,062. Value church property \$164,650.

Ohio Central Conference—comprising churches in Champaign, Clark, Clinton, Delaware, Fayette, Franklin, Hardin, Madison, Ross, Union, Marion, Morrow and Pickaway counties. Ordained ministers 21; licentiates 1; 33 churches of which 21 are country; preaching full time, 3; valuation church property, \$51,750; membership, 2,160. Ohio Conference—covering Jackson, Vinton, Pike, Scioto, Ross, Fayette and Gallia counties. Ordained ministers 32; licentiates 1; churches 32; membership 1,900. To this array must be added Antioch college, which under Horace Mann attained unto great renown, but since his death has undergone a checkered career.

So far as the personnel of the ministry is concerned—speaking wholly from personal observation—it has been composed of earnest, devoted and self-sacrificing men. Of the intellectual caliber it has been equal to the average, with here and there one far above the general. In point of scholarship, especially in oriental lore, America has not produced a greater than Austin Craig.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Christian church started with established churches and possessed with unbounded enthusiasm, yet the leaders were not equal to the occasion. The early preachers inveighed against a hireling ministry, which forced into the ranks many whose minds were diverted to the question of sufficient support; there was a want of organization, and a wise administration of government. The power of other churches forced them into intellectual lines, which, they have not been slow, in these later years, to take advantage. Within the last dozen years there has been quite a hegira into the ranks of the ministry of other denominations, especially the Congregational. Some six years ago a conference between the Congregationalists and Christians was held at Piqua, but with no perceptible results.

The Miami country owes much to the Christian church, and the showing of that church, contrasted with other sects, will compare favorably. A Presbyterian may not regard the coloring as of the brightest hues; for, in all probability, had it not been for the "Kentucky Revival," Presbyterianism in Kentucky and Southwestern Ohio, would be relatively as strong as it is to-day in Western Pennsylvania.

THE SHAKER CHURCH.

The Kentucky revival paved the way for the establishing of Shakerism in the West. The official title of this sect is "The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing." The name Shaker is universally applied to them and generally used by the members. So it is no longer regarded as a term of reproach, for it is used in their literature to designate them.

From the year 1801 to 1805, the newspapers of the Eastern States gave wonderful accounts of the extraordinary revival in Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio. This was a theme of frequent discussion among the then established Shaker communities. The Shaker authorities gave the western movement their most careful reflection. During the month of December, 1804, it was decided to send, without further delay, a propaganda into Kentucky, with ample powers to take such action as would be beneficial to their advancement. The men selected were John Meacham, Benjamin Seth Youngs and Issachar Bates. They

were eminently qualified for their mission. They were prepossessing in their appearance, neat and plain in their dress, grave and unassuming in their manners, very intelligent and ready in the Scriptures, and of great boldness in their faith. The power of Bates as a missionary, may be gained from the statement* that from 1801 to 1811, as a Shaker missionary he traveled, mostly on foot, 38,000 miles and received the first confession of about 1,100 converts. Benjamin S. Youngs was scholarly and indefatigable in his labors. Of John Meacham, I know but little. From a poem I learn that he set out for New Lebanon, August 19, 1806. He afterwards became first in the ministry at Pleasant Hill, Ky., but recalled to the East in 1818. He was born in 1770 and died at Mount Lebanon, N. Y., December 26, 1854.

At three o'clock on the morning of January 1st, 1805, the three missionaries set out on their mission. The first 62 miles they were carried in a sleigh. From that on they were afoot, with one horse to carry their baggage. They went by the way of Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington. Arriving in Kentucky they passed through Lexington, Abingdon and Hawley; there turning their course they crossed the Holston into Green County, Tennessee; recrossed the Holston, they passed over Clinch mountain; went through Crab Orchard, and about the first of March arrived at Paint Lick, where Matthew Houston was then stationed. From there they went to Cane Ridge, and were hospitably entertained by Barton W. Stone. Whether Stone directed their course into Ohio or not, there appears to be no existing evidence. On the 19th of March the propaganda crossed the Ohio; thence to Springdale, where John Thompson was preaching, and on March 22d, arrived at Turtle Creek, and directed their steps to the house of Malcolm Worley, having traveled 1,233 miles.

On the first advent of the Shaker missionaries, Barton Stone's conduct was all that could be desired. "We had much conversation with him and a number more; they sucked in our light as greedily as ever an ox drank water, and all wondered where they had been that they had not seen these things before.

* MS. Autobiography of Issachar Bates, in author's possession.

Barton said that he had been expecting that it would come about so in the end they were all filled with joy; this is what we have been praying for and now it is come."* Stone requested that they should attend the next camp-meeting soon to begin at Cane Ridge.

Malcolm Worley received the trio as divine messengers, and on March 27, became formally a Shaker. Malcolm declared "that his heavenly Father had promised to send help from Zion and I am glad, said he, that you are come."*

Richard McNemar had fully imbibed the idea that the Bible alone should be the resort for religious instructions. On the next day (March 23) the Shaker propaganda visited him. He "observed that he had never undertaken to build a church and if we had come for that purpose he would not stand in the way, his people were all free for us to labor with and he would go to the Gentiles. We stayed that night with Richard and the next day which was Sabbath, we went to meeting with him. He preached much to our satisfaction. After he got through I asked liberty to speak a few words which was granted. I spoke but short after which Benjamin came forward and spoke and read the letter† which was sent from the church."

On March 27, Bates started on foot to attend the camp-meeting at Cane Ridge, according to request. It was at this meeting where the first hostility was shown against the Shakers, by the new sect of Christians. It is thus told by Bates in his MS. Autobiography:

"I arrived at Barton Stone's on Saturday night and found many of the preachers there and a number of others. I was received with outward kindness and a number of the people felt very friendly but the preachers were struck with great fear and concluded that if I was permitted to preach that it would throw the people into confusion, and to prevent it they would counteract their former liberality and shut out all other sects from preaching at that meeting and that would shut me out. All this they did by themselves without the knowledge of the people, and the people, expecting that I would preach Sabbath morning, after much

* *Ibid.* †See *Quarterly*, Jan., 1902, p. 253.

conversation with the people, we took breakfast and went onto the camping ground. Marshall and Stone preached first and preached the people back into Egypt. Stone told them to let no man deceive them about the coming of Christ, for they would all know when He came, for every eye would see him in the clouds and they would see the graves opening and the bones rising and the saints would rise and meet the Lord in the air whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life (which is this little book that I hold in my hand) the Bible, and Marshall went on much in the same track. He warned the people not to follow man. Keep your Bibles in your homes and in your pocket for in them you have eternal life. Don't believe what man says; don't believe me for I have told lies. Thus they went on till they were covered with death and even the woods around us appeared to be in mourning. A great number paid but little attention to it, but were encircling me round, asking me questions and testifying at every answer that is eternal truth, that is the everlasting gospel and many other expressions of joy for the truth. At length Matthew Houston took his turn of preaching, and he took this text: Let us go up and possess the land for we are fully able. And he had them across the Red sea in short order you may be sure; the woods began to clap their hands, the people skipping and jerking and giving thanks, and a great part of them interceded with the preachers to have me preach, but were put off for that day. After the exercises of the day was over I returned to Stone's again and stayed all night and had much conversation with a number of people. The next day I went on the ground again. There were some preaching and a little of everything that amounted to nothing. The people insisted on my preaching. At last eight men went to the stand and said I should preach, so to pacify them they told they would dismiss the meeting at 12 o'clock, and then I might preach, and they did so. Then I mounted a large log in front of the stand and began to speak, and altho the preachers and many others went to their horses to get out of the way of hearing, yet when I began to speak they all returned and all paid good attention. I spoke about one hour. The subject I was upon was to show the difference between the spirit and the letter, and when I got

through and dismissed them they began the controversy; one cried spirit, spirit, all spirit, and another cried I bless God for the spirit, for it is all that will do us any good, and so the multitude were completely divided, so I left."

STANDING OF LEADING CONVERTS.

Owing to the spirit displayed towards those schismatics that afterwards became Shakers, the following may be given to show the estimation in which they were held previous to their final change in belief.

Under date of Cane Ride, April 2, 1805, Stone wrote to Richard McNemar as follows:

"MY DEAR BROTHER RICHARD:—I never longed to see any person so much. If I was not confined in this clay tabernacle, I should be in your embraces in less than an hour. The floods of earth and hell are let loose against us, but me in particular. I am seriously threatened with imprisonment and stripes, I expect to receive for the testimony of Jesus. Kentucky is turning upside down. The truth pervades in spite of man—Cumberland is sharing the same fate—the young preachers, some of them, will preach Jesus without the covering put on him by the fathers—the scribes, the disputers of this world are gnashing upon us—Brother Matthew Houston has clean escaped the pollutions of this world—and he and his people are going on to perfect holiness in the fear of God—a few more will soon follow—come over and help us, is the cry made to us from every part.—Brother Purviance is gone to Carolina, to preach the Gospel there, by the request of some there. In a few weeks I start to fulfill a long daily string of appointments to Cumberland—by request I go—I have appointed two commissioners among many Christians, on the heads of Little and Big Barrens—Brother Dooley is among the Cherokees again—his last route there was successful—some poor Indians received the Gospel—he was solicited to return—he is truly an apostle of the Gentiles—some few are getting religion amongst us. The churches thus quid dicam? Nescio: *What shall I say? I know not, my heart grieves within me. Certain men from afar whom you know, inject terror and doubt into many; and now religion begins to lament in the dust among us. Some as I suppose will cast away the ordinances of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, etc, but not many as yet. Most dear Brother, inform me what you think of these men among us and you, from a distant region. Thank God, he gave me his word.**

* The italics were originally in Latin, unquestionably to prevent Bates from understanding the same.

Letters show the substance and faith eats it. We all want to meet with you shortly. But by reason of my absence to Cumberland — Brother Purviance to N. Carolina, Brother Houston in Madison, we cannot meet on Turtle Creek, nor sooner than third Sabbath June, and that in Kentucky. Brothers Marshall and Houston parted from us yesterday. We administered the Lord's Supper at Cane Ridge the day before — many communicants — much exercise — I am pushed for time to write to you — We have five students of the Bible, all but one know the language, full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost — just ready to preach. They all fled from the Presbyterians, to their grief, pain and hurt. Brother Stockwell exceeds expectation and is beloved and useful. Our Apology is yet living and working, and tearing down Babylon in Virginia. It was reprinted there to the great injury of Presbyterianism. It is also reprinted in Georgia. We are just publishing a short tract on Atonement — I will send you one soon. This truth has unhinged the brazen gates already. — I am hurried — pray for me — farewell.

B. W. STONE.

By Friend Bates."*

As to the estimation in which Malcolm Worley was held, witness the following, dated Springfield (Springdale, near Cincinnati), March, 1804:

"Forasmuch as our brother, Malcolm Worley, has made known to us the exercises of his mind for some time past, expressive of a Divine call to labor in word and doctrine; and we being satisfied, from a long and intimate acquaintance with him, of his talents, both natural and acquired, being such as, through the grace of God, may render him useful; and considering that the way of God is above our ways, it therefore seemed good to us, with one accord to encourage our brother to the work, whereunto we trust the Holy Ghost is calling him; and we do hereby recommend him to the churches scattered abroad, to be forwarded to his calling, according to the manifestation of the Spirit given to him to profit withal. Signed in behalf of the Presbytery, B. W. Stone, Clk."†

PERSECUTING THE SHAKERS.

It is foreign to our purpose to follow the Shaker missionaries' peregrinations. Their success was phenomenal. In rapid succession they swept into their fold the churches at Turtle Creek,

* *Kentucky Revival*," p. 85.

† *Ibid*, p. 46.

Eagle Creek, Straight Creek, Shawnee Run, Cabin Creek, etc., besides converts at various points. They made it a point to follow up the camp-meetings, where they invariably made accessions to their number. Richard McNemar joined the Shakers April 24; to the camp meeting at Eagle Creek, Adams County, Ohio, held the first Sunday in August, 1805, repaired both Benjamin S. Youngs and Issachar Bates; they converted many; among whom was Rev. John Dunlavy; followed by Matthew Houston in February, 1806. Nearly every member of the Turtle Creek church followed McNemar into Shakerism. This gave them a solid foundation as well as numbers. Their landed interest became large. To this they added the estate of Timothy Sewell at a cost of \$1,640.

So long as the inroads were made upon the domain of the Christian Church, the discomfiture was greatly enjoyed by the other denominations. The Christians were grieved, chagrined, exasperated and early became aggressive, and took every measure to withstand the storm that presaged ruin to their cause. When the Shakers began to make visible success in other folds, then all united to put them down. Methods of the most questionable kind were resorted to. In the very year of their beginning at Turtle Creek (now Union Village, Warren Co., Ohio), the Shakers had their windows broken, their orchards cut down, their fences cast over, and their buildings burned. Four days after his conversion (April 28), Richard McNemar undertook to hold a camp meeting at Turtle Creek. On that day "a great body of blazing hot Newlights with John Thompson (then stationed at Springdale) a preacher at their head determined to break down all before them. Thompson mounted the stand and began his preaching and undertook to show how they had been imposed on by deceivers and how much he had borne with one Worley and now these Eastern men had come to tell us that Christ had made his second appearance, (pause), but they are liars, they are liars, they are liars. Now I will venture to say that the tumult at Ephesus was no greater than was at this place, for about half an hour it was one steady cry glory to Jesus, glory to Jesus, glory to Jesus and almost every other noise; this must be the cause of their giving so much glory to Jesus this poor suffering witnesses were proved

out to be liars that they might have the privilege of enjoying the pleasures of their fleshly lusts for a season. I stood on a log hard by alone, for Elder John nor Benjamin was not there, at that time I was ordered back to hell from whence I came and called all the bad names that they could think of, after the noise began to cease I stepped off the log and passed through the multitude and as I passed they cried out, see how his conscience is seared as with a hot iron, he does not regard it all."*

It will not be necessary to follow this dark picture any farther. There was that to rouse the passions of such as cared more for an *ism* than for the spirit of Jesus Christ. But after years have rolled away and all incentives to malice obliterated, it is to be expected that the vision should no longer be obfuscated. Years after Barton Stone did not hesitate to libel them: "John Dunlavy, who had left us and joined them, was a man of a penetrative mind, wrote and published much for them, and was one of their elders in high repute by them. He died in Indiana, raving in desperation for his folly in forsaking the truth for an old woman's fables. Richard McNemar was, before his death, excluded by the Shakers from their society, in a miserable, penniless condition, as I was informed by good authority. The reason of his exclusion I never heard particularly; but from what was heard, it appears that he had become convinced of his error. The Shakers had a revelation given them to remove him from their village, and take him to Lebanon, in Ohio, and to set him down in the streets, and leave him there in his old age, without friends or money."†

I called the attention of the Shakers of Union Village to the above citation. They had never heard of the charges before. Eldress Jane Cowan, of South Union, Ky., probably the best informed historian in their order in the West, was exceedingly indignant. Richard McNemar was ever a trusted man among them and died, full in the faith, at Union Village, September 15, 1839. The old church record says of him in noticing his death: "One of the most zealous and loyal believers who ever embraced the gospel in this western land, altogether more than ordinary intelligent."

* MS. *Autobiography of Bates*.

† *Biography of B. W. Stone*, p. 63.

John Dunlavy was long the preacher for the Shaker community at Pleasant Hill, Ky. On June 3, 1826, he arrived at the Shaker community of West Union in Knox county, Indiana, on a visit. On September 8th he was taken sick with bilious fever and died on the 16th. On the 17th David Price was dispatched to Union Village as a bearer of the sorrowful news, and on the 18th William Redmond started on the same mission to Pleasant Hill. His death was greatly lamented by the various communities. Summerbell, in his "History of the Christians A. M. 4004—A. D. 1870, Cincinnati 1873," seizes the libel of Stone and gives it a fresh start (p. 533), although living less than twenty-five miles from Union Village at the time he copied the statements from Stone, and by next letter could have informed himself. He further calls Shakerism "Only Romish monkery broken loose from popery." Notwithstanding the estimation in which the Shakers were held—as quoted above—Summerbell thinks it best to slur them and others—"Those who went to the Shakers were too much inclined to fanaticism; and had they remained would have caused trouble, while Thompson and those who returned to the sects would not have followed the word of truth in baptism (Summerbell was an immersionist), a duty in which they would soon have been tested." David Purviance ("Biography of David Purviance," p. 146), speaks of Richard McNemar as being vain or "lifted up," after the separation in 1804. "I also discovered some of the same detestable pride in John Dunlavy. They were not content to abide in the simplicity of the truth. They became fanatics, and were prepared for an overthrow, when the Shakers entered in among us and swept them off with others who were led into wild enthusiasm." "I have thought there might be something providential in the coming of the Shakers, although some honest and precious souls were seduced and ruined by their means; yet a growing fanaticism was drawn out of the church, which threatened the most deleterious effects" (p. 148).

SHAKER ELEMENTS OF SUCCESS.

When all the facts are confronted it is not singular that Shakerism should have been so successful in the West. There

were certain regnant elements in operation among the revivalists that were congenial to the believers in Ann Lee. Dancing was introduced among the revivalists in 1804; the Church in general taught that the second coming of Christ was yet in the future; a community of goods could be derived from the New Testament; religious fanaticism was the order of the day; a high sense of morals and implicit faith were specially taught. The Shakers danced in their religious exercises; they taught that Adam and Eve were the father and mother of the natural man while Jesus and Ann Lee were the father and mother of the spiritual family; they held all goods in common; the early Shakers were given to fanaticism; they practiced strictly the highest morals and were devout in their worship. If they taught that God was dual,* that was not a greater credulity than the doctrine of a triune God. The simplicity of their manners would impress favorably those who opposed prevailing fanaticism.

SHAKER INFLUENCE.

The early Shakers of the West possessed members representing all the various professions and trades. There were scholars and theologians among them. It would be no exaggeration to say that it possessed the flower of the Western Presbyterian Church, one of whom wrote a book, which has ever remained a standard of authority among them. I refer to John Dunlavy's "Manifesto;" written in 1815, published in 1818, at Pleasant Hill, and republished in 1847 in New York. It is a royal octavo of 486 pp. The great standard work of the Shakers — "Christ's First and Second Appearing" — is a western production, and first published at Lebanon, O., in 1808; the second edition at Albany, in 1810; the third at Cincinnati, in 1823, and the fourth in Albany, in 1856. It is a royal octavo of 631 pp., and was principally written by Benjamin S. Youngs. It was originally published under the sanction of David Darrow, John

* Theodore Parker prayed to "Our Father and Mother in Heaven." I heard the same utterance in the Universalist church, Galesburg, Ills., many years ago.

Meacham and Benjamin S. Youngs.* The publications of the western Shakers have been quite extensive. A bibliography of Shaker literature is appended to Axon's "Biographical Notices of Ann Lee," but this I have never seen. The books I possess, written by Shakers, number 30 bound volumes and 50 pamphlets, most of which were presented to me by Eldress Clymena Miner, who stands second in the ministry in the Sisters' lot, of the Western Societies.

While the Shakers own great possessions yet their number is greatly reduced, and their days appear to be numbered. No efforts are now made either to increase their membership or extend their literature. They have most thoroughly demonstrated that men and women can live together as a band of brothers and sisters.

The western ministry is appointed by that at Mount Lebanon in New York. It has not always been wise. The making of Elder Slingerland both first in the ministry and trustee was most disastrous. The particulars are too painful to narrate. It was a case of imbecility on the one side and sharpers on the other. Suffice it to say that of the \$316,000 obtained for the North Union property, every dollar of it was lost. Nearly \$200,000 more went into wild cat speculation. The leaders of Union Village prayed the Eastern ministry for redress, but in vain. As a last recourse the law was appealed to, and finally a new ministry was appointed, which has all the appearance of an intelligent conservatism. Through the stubbornness of Harvey L. Eads, formerly chief in authority at South Union, \$80,000 was lost at one time. The finances of Pleasant Hill are not in good condition.

A candid study of the Shakers evokes one's sympathy and admiration. I confess it would be a pleasure to me to realize that the halls of the Shaker villages teemed with human life as they did at the time of my earliest recollection. Thousands have gone forth from these communities schooled in the purest morals and implicit faith in the Divine Being. Shakerism has been productive of good. As such it must receive the encomiums of the just.

* Thomas Jefferson pronounced it the best ecclesiastical history he had every read.

OTHER SECTS.

The revivalists to a greater or less extent were fanatical, but time mellowed the trenchant words, and a deeper spiritual outlook was observed. In religious thought the various conferences differ—that known as the Miami is reputed to contain the broadest minds. The religious paper—published at Dayton—"Herald of Gospel Liberty," is rather conservative in its tone. While the church, as a body, rejects the doctrine of the trinity, yet nowhere has it paved the way for the Unitarian denomination. In the whole state of Ohio there are but three churches, viz., Cincinnati, Cleveland and Marietta, none of which has more than a local force. The handing over of Antioch college proved to be a failure, owing to the want of a constituency. Yet the measure of this church is most potent. Backed by Harvard college and with the impetus of an unrivaled ministry in education and intellect, its advocates have gained renown in all departments of knowledge. Its literature stands almost alone. It keeps abreast with human thought. All clergymen, west of the Alleghenies, may receive, gratis, an installment of their books, which has been largely accepted. What influence this may have could not even be approximated.

UNIVERSALISM.

Although there is a large per cent. of the clergymen of the Christian sect that accepts the doctrine of universal salvation, yet it has nowhere paved the way for the Universalist church. In short, there has always been an antagonism between the two. The Universalist church in Ohio, like the Unitarian, has been practically a failure, although tremendous efforts have been put forth to gain and maintain a footing. The first preacher in the state was Timothy Bigelow, who removed to Palmyra in 1814. The first organized church was in Marietta, in 1816, now merged into the Unitarian. The first conference in the Miami country was at Jacksonsburg, Butler county, in November, 1826, at which were James Alfred, Jonathan Kidwell and Daniel St. John. The "Register" for 1903, gives for the state 42 ministers and 80

churches, 34 of the latter being in the Miami country. The efforts to maintain a religious periodical have all been failures, as the following list demonstrates: "The Lamp of Liberty," Cincinnati, 1827; "The Star in the West," Cincinnati, 1827-1880; "The Glad Tidings," Columbus and Akron, 1836-1840; "The Universalist Preacher," Dayton, 1839-1841; "Ohio Universalist," Cleveland, 1845-1846; "The Youth's Friend," Cincinnati, 1846-1860; "The Universalist Advocate," Centreburg, 1849; "Western Olive Branch," Cincinnati, 1849-1850; "The Guiding Star," Cincinnati, 1871-1880. Nor has the denomination generally been much more successful. The Rev. Dr. Richard Eddy, in his "Modern History of Universalism," appends a list of periodicals, showing that out of 181 journals only four are still in existence, viz., two family, one juvenile, and one Sunday school. Eddy's bibliography, for and against the doctrine of universal salvation, compiled in 1886, enumerates 2,096 titles. This does not embrace the literature in other departments. What that bibliography may be I am unable to ascertain.

While it has been foreign to my intention to comment on the subject of doctrine, for that must require some temerity, because it is treading on delicate ground, I will here, however, transgress the rule for this reason: The Universalist church boasts it stands for that phase of Christianity that represents all who believe in the ultimate salvation of all. If their boasts be true, then they should either have no written creed, or else one which would cover all believers in the Bible who accept the salvation of all. This church is the only one of the liberal sects that has a written creed. In the year 1803, the following creed was adopted, known as the Winchester Profession:

ARTICLE I. We believe that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain a revelation of the character of God and of the duty, interest and final destination of mankind.

ARTICLE II. We believe that there is one God, whose nature is Love, revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of Grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness.

ARTICLE III. We believe that holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected, and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order and practice good works; for these things are good and profitable unto men.

Considering the purport of the Universalist church no reasonable man could take exceptions to the above, unless it is the grammatical error in the first article. Yet for twenty years the ministers wrangled over the word "restore," when all controversy was throttled and the following theological monstrosity was adopted at Boston in 1899:

II. The conditions of fellowship shall be as follows:

1. The acceptance of the essential principles of the Universalist Faith, to-wit: 1. The Universal Fatherhood of God; 2. The Spiritual authority and leadership of His Son, Jesus Christ; 3. The trustworthiness of the Bible as containing a revelation from God; 4. The certainty of just retribution for sin; 5. The final harmony of all souls with God.

The Winchester Profession is commended as containing these principles, but neither this nor any other precise form of words is required as a condition of fellowship, provided always that the principles above stated be professed.

2. The acknowledgment of the authority of the General Convention and assent to its laws.

Only a slight examination of these conditions of fellowship exhibits that it is:

I. Anti-Christian, for it teaches that God is without mercy, pity and compassion; it teaches the doctrine of retaliation.

II. It teaches post mortem punishment, a doctrine in which Universalists have always been divided.

III. It is materialistic.

IV. It is fatalistic.

V. The word "Universal" is all-reaching, unlimited in its signification. Then this creed places man on a level with the brute and inanimate creation. Doubtless it was intended to mean that "God is the father of all mankind," but the words do not say nor mean that.

VI. It contains a gross falsehood. It states that the "Winchester profession is commended as containing these principles," when the utmost stretch of the imagination cannot make it teach "the certainty of just retribution for sin."

VII. One of the cardinal principles of Christianity is forgiveness, but here we have "the *certainty* of retribution."

The adoption of such a conglomeration is evidence that the Universalist church has no humorist in it, and that such theologians as it may contain have their vision obscured.

PRESENT RELIGIOUS STATUS.

The religious, moral and intellectual status of the Miami country will compare favorably with any other part of the State of Ohio. Whatever may be deleterious in that region may also be found elsewhere. If other districts are progressive, likewise the same elements are here at work. To speak of any particular phase would only be to rehearse what may be known elsewhere.

So far as the Kentucky revival is concerned it has passed into history never again to repeat itself. It has been observed that when one species of animals died out it can never be reclaimed, because the conditions are against it. Likewise the Kentucky revival can never be repeated. The conditions have changed. Society is not the same. The standards have been raised. In order to have a revival the minds of the people must be concentrated on that one point. The daily newspaper distracts the attention by its variety and sensational publications. The free schools direct the minds of youth into various channels and pursuits become innumerable.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

In previous issues of the *Quarterly* I have given sketches of all the prominent men hereunto mentioned, save Barton Warren Stone. He was born near Port Tobacco, Maryland, Dec. 24, 1772; in 1779 the family moved near the Dan river in what was then the backwoods of Virginia; in 1790 he commenced the study of Latin at Guilford (N. C.) Academy; active and a leader in the Kentucky revival, during which time he was settled at Cane Ridge; first married in 1801 and again in 1811; taught school; commenced publishing the "Christian Messenger" in 1826, and through his efforts the New Lights in Kentucky were turned over to the Campbellites in 1832; removed to Illinois in 1834; wrote his autobiography in 1843; died at the residence of his daughter, in Hannibal, Mo., November 9, 1844. Besides writing

part two of the "Apology," in 1805 he published his "Letters on the Atonement," and "Address to the Christian Churches," and in 1822 appeared his "Letters to Dr. James Blythe." His autobiography was edited by John Rogers and published in Cincinnati in 1847. The editor closes the volume with a lengthy and wholesome chapter upon the bodily phenomena produced during the great revival. Among other things he observes: "While it is granted that genuine Christians have been, in many instances, subjects of these strange agitations, this cannot be admitted as



ELDER BARTON W. STONE.

proof, that they are the offspring of proper influences: for no such cases occurred under the preaching of Christ, and His Apostles. And we cannot doubt that under their ministry, all proper influences were brought to bear upon their hearers. The conclusion therefore cannot be avoided, that the gospel, preached as it should be, never produces such results." "Where these exercises were encouraged, and regarded as tokens of the divine presence there they greatly prevailed. But where they were looked upon as manifestations of enthusiasm, and fanaticism, and therefore, opposed, they did not prevail" (p. 371).

CONCLUSION.

Spasmodic efforts in behalf of mankind are not to be looked upon with the eye of censure. While there may be much chaff,

yet it is out of the chaff that the grain of wheat is rescued. Sometimes the cloud of dust obscures even the brightness of the sun, yet when that dust is settled the road way may be more passable. Thoughts are often quickened, and experience is a tell-tale for future good. I have not condemned the Kentucky revival. Good did flow from it. When all the circumstances are considered it was an effort greatly demanded, however wild was the revel, and grotesque the carnival. Persecutions of all descriptions must be condemned. The history of man proves that in every instance the persecuted have been nearer the Kingdom than the persecutors.

May 19, 1903.

J. P. MACLEAN.

NOTE. On May 27th, I received from Eldress Jane Cowan, the principal leader of the Shaker community at South Union, Logan county, Ky., the church records of that society. Prefacing these records is an autobiographical sketch of Rev. John Rankin written in 1845. As this throws light on the Kentucky revival, and what has never been published before, I herewith transcribe a portion of it:

"In August, 1799, a sacrament was appointed at Gasper River, old meeting house five miles below South Union. The preachers attended, gifts were given to men, their language was clothed with power which pervaded the congregation, many were convicted, some called on their neighbors to pray for them, one under view of his exposure to justice, asked in consternation of soul: "Is there no hand to stay the justice of God?" Some few could rejoice in hopes of mercy and promise of God, et cetera. This same summer or early fall, at a sacrament held at Big Muddy River Meeting House: a work of similar nature made its appearance in a very striking manner; my text on this occasion was Acts 40. and 41. Beware therefore, lest that come upon you which was spoken of in the Prophets; Behold ye despisers and wonder and perish; for I work a work in your days, a work which you shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you: Due attendance, serious attention to preaching, and solemn inquiry, what they should do to be saved appeared to agitate the minds of the congregations throughout the following winter and spring. In the mean time, the members of this society (Gasper) were cordially engaged in building a meeting-house for their future accommodation.

"Sometime in the month of June in the year 1800, the principal members of the three awakened congregations met together at the Red River Meeting house, with a large accession of citizens of every description, and

also two zealous preachers from the state of Tennessee, in whom we could confide, came to see the strange work, and take part in the labors of the day. Believing them to be men of the same spirit with ourselves, we made them more than welcome to participate on the occasion; and rejoiced in hope that they might be instruments, destined to transfer the same light and power to their respective neighborhoods, which was the result. All our gifts and ministerial efforts were united and tended to the same end; the conviction, conversion and salvation of souls.; The surrounding multitudes sat and heard with reverence and awe, with increasing solemnity depicted in their countenances through the meeting; at the conclusion of which, a part of the people went out of the house, in order to return to their places of residence. A large part remaining on their seats in contemplative silence. But wonderful to be seen and heard; on a sudden, an alarming cry burst from the midst of the deepest silence; some were thrown into wonderful and strange contortions of features, body and limbs, frightful to the beholder — others had singular gestures, with words and actions quite inconsistent with Presbyterian order and usage — all was alarm and confusion for the moment. One of the preachers, a thorough Presbyterian, being in the house beckoned me to one side, and said, in evident perturbation of mind: What shall we do? What shall we do? He intimated some corrective to quell the confusion. I replied: We can do nothing at present. We are strangers to such an operation. We have hitherto never seen the like; but we may observe, their cry, and the burden of their prayers to God is for mercy and the salvation of their souls. This prayer is both scriptural and rational, and therefore it is most safe to let it work; lest in attempting to root out the tares, we should root out the wheat also. Let the disorder stand to the account of human imperfection. At this instant the other preacher from Tennessee, a son of thunder, came forward and without hesitation, entered on the most heart stirring exhortation, encouraging the wounded of the day never to cease striving, or give up their pursuit, until they obtained peace to their souls. On seeing and feeling his confidence, that it was the work of God, and a mighty effusion of his spirit, and having heard that he was acquainted with such scenes in another country, we acquiesced and stood in astonishment, admiring the wonderful works of God. When this alarming occurrence subsided, in outward show, the united congregations returned to their respective abodes, in contemplation of what they had seen, heard and felt on this most oppressive occasion.

The next large meeting was held on Friday week after the before-mentioned meeting on Red River, being an appointment for a sacramental meeting at Gasper River, at the new meeting house one mile and a half below South Union in the month of July, 1800.

In the intervening two weeks, the news of the strange operations which had transpired at the previous meeting had run throughout the

county in every direction, carrying a high degree of excitement to the minds of almost every character. The curious came to gratify their curiosity. The seriously convicted, presented themselves that they might receive some special and salutary benefit to their souls, and promote the cause of God, at home and abroad. The honorable (?) but sentimental exemplary and strictly formal Presbyterians attended to scrutinize the work, and judge whether it was of God and consistent with their sentiments, feelings and order, or whether it was a delusive spirit emanating from the Prince of darkness, of which they were very apprehensive. * * * On Friday morning at an early hour, the people began to assemble in large numbers from every quarter, and by the usual hour for preaching to commence, there was a multitude collected, unprecedented in this or any other new country of so sparse a population. The rising ground to the south and west of the meeting house, was literally lined with covered wagons and other appendages — each one furnished with provisions and accommodations, suitable to make them comfortable on the ground during the solemnity. When I came in view of this vast assemblage I was astonished." On the evening of the following Monday "inquirers began to fall prostrate on all sides, and their cries became piercing and incessant. Heavy groans were heard, and trembling and shaking began to appear throughout the house; and again in a little time, cries of penitential and confessional prayer sounded through the assembly. Toward the approach of night, the floor of the meeting house was literally covered with the prostrate bodies of penitents, so that it became necessary to carry a number out of doors and lay them on the grass or garments, if they had them."

Rev. John Rankin was born November 27, 1757, in North Carolina. He took charge of the Presbyterian church on the Gasper (now South Union), in December 1798. Similar to the other revivalists, his views were not in harmony with those of his co-religionists. On October 28, 1807, he avowed his belief in Shakerism and confessed to Issachar Bates, Richard McNemar and Matthew Houston. He was the preacher at South Union until his death, which occurred July 12, 1850.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

It may be of interest to future investigators to know something of the books published by the Shakers. Their literature is extensive. A bibliography is appended to Axon's *Biographical Notices of Ann Lee*, but this I have never seen. The following is a list of such works as the Shakers have presented to me:

I. BOUND VOLUMES.

1. The Kentucky Revival, or a Short History of the late extraordinary out-pouring of the Spirit of God, in the Western States of America, agreeably to Scripture promises, and prophecies concerning the latter day: with a brief account of the entrance and progress of what the world call Shakerism, among the subjects of the late revival in Ohio and Kentucky. Presented to the true Zion-traveller, as a memorial of the Wilderness journey. By Richard McNemar. Cincinnati 1807. It also contains Shaker mission to the Shawnee Indians, and observations on church government. Total number of pages 143.

2. Another edition of same of 156 pp. published in New York, 1846.

3. The testimony of Christ's Second Appearing; containing a general statement of all things pertaining to the faith and practice of the Church of God in this latter day. Published by order of the Ministry, in union with the church. Third edition, corrected and improved. Union Village (Ohio), 1823. 577 pp.

4. Same. Fourth edition. Enlarged by Benjamin S. Youngs and Calvin Green. Albany, 1856. 631 pp. The first edition (1808) was the work of Youngs.

5. The Manifesto, or a declaration of the doctrines and practice of the church of Christ. By John Dunlavy. Pleasant Hill, Ky., 1818.* 520 pp.

6. Another edition of same of 486 pp., published in New York in 1847.

7. A summary view of the Millennial Church, or United Society of Believers, commonly called Shakers, comprising the rise, progress and practical order of the society, together with the general principles of their faith and testimony. Second edition, revised and improved. Albany, 1848. 384 pp.

8. A holy, sacred and divine Roll and Book; from the Lord God of Heaven, to the inhabitants of earth: revealed in the United Society at New Lebanon, county of Columbia, state of New York, United States of America. In two parts. Canterbury, N. H., 1843. 407 pp.

9. The divine book of holy and eternal wisdom, revealing the word of God; out of whose mouth goeth a sharp sword. In two volumes. Written by Paulina Bates, at Watervleet, N. Y. Canterbury, N. H., 1849. 696 pp.

10. Shaker Sermons: scripto-rational. Containing the substance of Shaker theology. Together with replies and criticisms logically and clearly set forth. By H. L. Eads, bishop of South Union, Ky. Fifth edition. Revised and enlarged. South Union, Kentucky, 1889. 366 pp.

11. Testimonies concerning the character and ministry of Mother Ann Lee and the first witnesses of the gospel of Christ's second appearing; given by some of the aged brethren and sisters of the United Society, including a few sketches of their own religious experience: approved by the church. Albany, 1827. 178 pp.

12. Testimonies of the life, character, revelations and doctrines of Mother Ann Lee, and the elders with her, through whom the word of eternal life was opened in this day of Christ's second appearing, collected from living witnesses, in union with the church. Second edition. Albany, 1888. 302 pp.

13. Millennial praises, containing a collection of gospel hymns, in four parts; adapted to the day of Christ's second appearing. Composed for the use of his people. Hancock (Mass.), 1813. 292 pp.

14. A selection of hymns and poems; for the use of Believers. Collected from sundry authors, by Philos Hamoniæ (Richard McNemar). Watervleit (Ohio), 1833. 184 pp.

15. A sacred repository of anthems and hymns, for devotional worship and praise. Canterbury, N. H., 1852. 223 pp.

16. A collection of hymns and anthems adapted to public worship. East Canterbury, N. H., 1892. 144 pp.

17. A juvenile guide, or manual of good manners. Consisting of counsels, instructions and rules of deportment, for the young. In two parts. Canterbury, N. H., 1844. 131 pp.

18. The same. Third edition. East Canterbury, N. H., 1899. 79 pp.

19. Pearly gate of the true life and doctrine for believers in Christ. By A. G. Hollister and C. Green, Mount Lebanon, N. Y., 1894. 299 pp.
20. The same. Second edition improved and enlarged, 1896. 255 pp.

II. PAMPHLETS.

1. Transactions of the Ohio Mob, called in the public papers, "An expedition against the Shakers." By Benjamin Seth Youngs, Miami county, state of Ohio, August 31, 1810.
2. Autobiography, by Elder Giles B. Avery, of Mount Lebanon, N. Y. Also an account of the funeral service. East Canterbury, N. H., 1891. 34 pp.
3. Affectionately inscribed to the memory of Eldress Antoinette Doolittle, by her loving and devoted gospel friends. Albany, 1887. 32 pp.
4. Investigator; or a defence of the order, government and economy of the United Society called Shakers, against sundry charges and legislative proceedings. By the Society of Believers at Pleasant Hill, Ky. Lexington, K., 1828. 47 pp.
5. The same, enlarged. New York, 1846. 103 pp.
6. Authorized Rules of the Shaker community. Mount Lebanon, N. Y., 1894. 16 pp.
7. Supplementary rules. Mount Lebanon, 1894. 4 pp.
8. Sketches of Shakers and Shakerism. Synopsis of theology of United Society of Believers in Christ's second appearing. By Giles B. Avery. Albany, 1884. 53 pp.
9. A review of Mary M. Dyer's publication, entitled "A portraiture of Shakerism;" together with sundry affidavits, disproving the truth of her assertions. Concord, 1824. 70 pp.
10. A brief exposition of the established principles, and regulations of the United Society of Believers called Shakers. Edited by Richard McNemar and David Spinnig. Watervleit, Ohio, June 30, 1832. 49 pp.
11. The same. New York, 1879. 32 pp.
12. The same. East Canterbury, N. H., 1895. 24 pp.
13. A discourse on the order and propriety of divine inspiration and revelation, showing the necessity thereof, in all

ages, to know the will of God. Also, a discourse on the second appearing of Christ, in and through the order of the female. And a discourse on the propriety and necessity of a united inheritance in all things, in order to support a true Christian community. By Wm. Léonard Harvard: 1853. 88 pp.

14. The nature and character of the true church of Christ proved by plain evidences, and showing whereby it may be known and distinguished from all others. By John Dunlavy. New York, 1847. 93 pp.

15. Plain talks: upon practical, Christian religion; being answers to ever-recurring questions concerning the Shakers, prominently among which is the answer to "What must an individual do to be a Shaker?" Shakers, N. Y., *n. d.* 24 pp.

16. The youth's guide in Zion, and holy mother's promises. Given by inspiration at New Lebanon, N. Y., January 5, 1842. Canterbury, N. H., 1842. 36 pp.

17. The manifestation of spiritualism among the Shakers 1837-1847. By Henry C. Blinn. East Canterbury, N. H., 1899. 101 pp.

18. Tests of divine inspiration; or the rudimental principles by which true and false revelation, in all eras of the world, can be unerringly discriminated. By F. W. Evans. New Lebanon, 1853. 127 pp.

19. Scientific demonstration of theology, prophecy and revelation. By H. B. Bear. Preston, Hamilton Co., Ohio, 1900. 56 pp.

20. A scientific demonstration of the prophecies of Daniel and St. John. H. B. Bear. Preston, Ohio, *n. d.* 13 pp.

21. Interpreting prophecy and the appearing of Christ. Third edition. A. G. Hollister. Mount Lebanon, N. Y., 1892. 42 pp.

22. Mission of Alethian Believers, called Shakers. A. G. Hollister. Mount Lebanon, N. Y., 1892-1899. 28 pp.

23. Synopsis of doctrine taught by Believers in Christ's second appearing. A. G. Hollister. Mount Lebanon, N. Y., second edition enlarged, 1893. 30 pp.

24. Divine judgment, justice and mercy. A revelation of the great white throne. A. G. Hollister. Mount Lebanon, N. Y., 1895. 48 pp.

25. The day of judgment as taught by the Millennial Church. By Arthur W. Dowe. San Francisco, 1896. 24 pp.

26. The divine afflatus: a force in history. Published by the United Society, Shirley, Mass. Boston, 1875. 47 pp.

27. A concise statement of the principles of the only true church, according to the gospel of the present appearing of Christ. Bennington, Vermont, 1900. 16 pp.

28. The law of life. Extract from a writing in the name of the prophet Joel. Mt. Lebanon, N. Y., January, 1841. Calvin Green, amanuensis. 16 pp.

29. Shakers: a correspondence between Mary F. C. of Mt. Holly City and a Shaker sister, Sarah L. of Union Village. Edited by R. W. Pelham. Cincinnati, 1869. 23 pp.

30. The Shaker's answer to a letter from an inquirer. By R. W. Pelham. Union Village, Ohio, 186*. 23 pp.

31. A Christian community. By Henry C. Bluin. East Canterbury, N. H., *ud.* 16 pp.

32. True source of happiness. Anna White. Mt. Lebanon, N. Y. *n. d.* 6 pp.

33. Pearly Gate of the true life and doctrine for Believers in Christ. Part II. By A. G. Hollister. Mount Lebanon, N. Y., 1900. 18 pp.

INFLUENCE OF PENNSYLVANIA ON OHIO.

BY W. H. HUNTER.

[The celebration of the Centennial of the State has led to much discussion regarding the ethnological history of Ohio. As a contribution to this subject, we present the address delivered by W. H. Hunter, of Chillicothe, at a banquet given in Philadelphia several years ago by the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish society, which has for its object the preservation of historical data. — E. O. R.]

THE PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: — While in attendance at the Harrisburg session of the Scotch-Irish Society of America last summer, I was thrilled by the eloquence of your honorable Past President, Dr. McCook, who then delivered one of the most impressive addresses I ever heard — beautiful in diction, eloquent in presentation — his subject being "The Scotch-Irish Pioneer Women." Among the accomplishments of those noble women described was the manufacture of mush and milk; or rather, I should say, Pioneer Porridge, the piece de resistance on the table of the fathers. His panegyric was so eloquent and his description of the process was so real one could close his eyes and hear the mush splutter as it was stirred in the pot, could see the particles fly over the brim and smell the odor of burning meal as the globules fell upon the fire. When I think back to the old homestead in Eastern Ohio I run against the fact that I did not like mush and milk any more than I loved the catechism, which we had together at our house eight evenings in the week. I recall it now as the one cloud over the sunshine of happy boyhood days; but Dr. McCook's eloquence made such an impression on me that all my early repugnance for mush and milk has left me; I have never been so fortunate as to hear him on the catechism. Through the kindness of my good friend, Colonel McIlhenney, I am here to enjoy with you the food of our ancestors. I promised him when he gave me the opportunity to break mush and milk with the Society, I would endeavor to partly pay my way with a story of the influence of the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania

in Ohio. Just as I was about to plunge into a mass of data in preparation of an elaborate address, he wrote me that I must keep in mind that this being a Scotch-Irish gathering, it would be a gabfest; that there would be a good many folks waiting to make speeches, and that no one would be allowed to say all that was in his mind. However, I feel that I should make my contribution to this interesting subject and if I weary you pull my coat tail. My great grandfathers having been among the early settlers of the western part of the state and the founders of Old Unity, the first Presbyterian church west of the mountains, and one of them in the disastrous Lochry expedition during the Revolutionary War, I feel strongly moved to the task. My sainted mother also was reared to young womanhood in this city and it was through her influence that Bishop Simpson, when a young man in Ohio, was induced to adopt the ministry as his calling — the eloquent bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church who made Philadelphia his seat and whose erudition, whose fertile genius, wonderful perception, and pushing enterprise gave his church much of its power in America.

When John Randolph said that Pennsylvania had produced but two great men — Benjamin Franklin, of Massachusetts, and Albert Gallatin, of Switzerland — he possibly did not know that the best blood of his own State was that of the Scotch-Irish people who went down from Pennsylvania and settled in the Valley. He likely did not know that the great and good Dr. Archibald Alexander, the founder of Liberty Hall, now Washington and Lee University (so much loved by Washington), the very seat of culture and power of the Shenandoah and James, the greatest factor of the State's prowess, was a Pennsylvanian. He possibly did not know that Dr. Graham, the first president of this institution, was from Old Paxtang; that many of the families whose names are in the pantheon of Old Dominion achievement, the families that give Virginia her prominence in the sisterhood of States, had their American origin in Pennsylvania — in the Scotch-Irish reservoir of the Cumberland Valley — the McDowells, the Pattersons, the McCormacks, Ewings, McCorcles, Prestons, McCunes, Craigs, McColloughs, Simpsons, Stewarts, Moffats, Irwins, Hunters, Blairs, Elders, Grahams, Finleys, Trim-

bles, Rankins, and hundreds of others, whose achievements mark the pathway of the world's progress. John Randolph possibly did not know that the first Declaration of Independence by the American patriots was issued by the members of Hanover Church out there in Dauphin county, when on June 4th, 1774, they declared "that in the event of Great Britain attempting to force unjust laws upon us by the strength of arms, our cause we leave to heaven and our rifles." This declaration was certainly carried to Mecklenburg to give the sturdy people of that region inspiration for the strong document issued by them a year later, and which gave Jefferson a basis for the Declaration of 1776. There was much moving from Pennsylvania into Virginia and North Carolina before the Revolution, and Hanover Presbytery in the Valley was largely made up of people from Pennsylvania, whose petition of ten thousand names for a free church in a free land, made in 1785, was the force back of Jefferson's bill for religious tolerance, a triumph for freedom that has always been considered a Presbyterian victory by the Scotch-Irish of America.

To him who has the inclination and the time for the task, there can be no more interesting and instructive study than to follow the trail of the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania to Ohio through Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky; and had John Randolph taken up this task he would have found men of Pennsylvania blood, who, in scholarship, in statesmanship, in patriotism, in genius, in skill at arms, were as great as the two who occurred to his mind when he was sneering at the position of the great commonwealth.

We know that Dr. Sankey of Hanover Church was a minister in Hanover Presbytery, and that he was followed into Virginia by large numbers of the Hanover congregation, who kept up a constant stream into the Valley. By the way, two settlements were made by this congregation in Ohio. Col. Rogers, Gov. Bushnell's secretary, derives his descent from them. The population of North Carolina at the outbreak of the Revolution was largely made up of Scotch-Irish immigrants from Pennsylvania and the Virginia Valley who had a public school system before the war. These were the people who stood with the Rev. David Caldwell on the banks of the Alamance May 16th, 1771,

and received the first volley of shot fired in the contest for independence. This same blood coursed the veins of the patriot army with Lewis at Point Pleasant, the first battle of the Revolutionary War, fought October 11, 1774, Lord Dunmore having no doubt planned the attack by the Indians to discourage the Americans from further agitation of the then pending demand for fair treatment of the American Colonies at the hands of Great Britain. It was this blood that coursed the veins of those courageous people who, having survived the Kerr's creek massacre, were carried to a Shawnese village in Ohio, and on being bantered to sing by the Indians in their cruel sport, sang Rouse's version of one of the Psalms. "Unappalled by the bloody scene," says the Augusta historian, "through which they had already passed, and the fearful tortures awaiting them, within the dark wilderness of forest, when all hope of rescue seemed forbidden; undaunted by the fiendish revelings of their savage captors, they sang aloud with the most pious fervor —

"On Babel's stream we sat and wept when Zion we thought on,
In midst thereof we hanged our harps the willow trees among,
For then a song required they who did us captive bring,
Our spoilers called for mirth and said, a song of Zion sing."

It was this blood that fought the battle of King's Mountain, which victory gave the patriots the courage that is always in hope; it was the winning force at Cowpens, at Guilford, where Rev. Samuel Houston discharged his rifle fourteen times, once for each ten minutes of the battle. These brave hearts were in every battle of the Revolution, from Point Pleasant in 1774 to the victory of Wayne at the Maumee Rapids twenty years later, for the War of Independence continued in the Ohio country after the treaty of peace. And yet, after all this awful struggle to gain and hold for America the very heart of the Republic, one of the gentlemen referred to by Mr. Randolph wrote pamphlets in which he derided as murderers the courageous settlers of our blood on the occasions they felt it necessary to "remove" Indians with their long rifles. After all the struggle, he too would have made an arrangement with England by which the Ohio river would have been the boundary line.

There were giants along that trail — physical and mental giants. The pioneer fathers were men of force and enterprise, and it is to these characteristics that we are indebted for the results that came to us as a heritage. They were not cradled in the lap of luxury, hence a physical prowess that was never bent by enervation; a sterling quality of mind that was ever alert, made keen by the exigencies met on every hand. They were broadened in mental scope and disciplined in habits of action and thought by the responsibilities of home making, not only for themselves but an empire of homes for posterity. Their traits of manhood were of the highest order of God's creation. They were without physical fear. They had no fear save that of God, for religion was their strongest impulse. They were self-reliant, having wonderful perception and continuity of purpose withal, the distinguishing traits that mark their descendants, who are ever in the forerank of the army whose triumph is the advancement of the world's civilization.

Did it ever occur to you, Mr. President and gentlemen, that the brave men of the South who met death in the awful Bloody Angle at Gettysburg died almost within sight of the graves of their ancestors in the church yards of the Valley? Only recently I was shown by Dr. Egle in Old Paxtang Cemetery the stone that marks the last earthly resting place of the forebears of Gen. J. E. B. Stewart, whose cavalry was largely composed of descendants of others whose dust lies in the Pennsylvania church yards. The men with Pickett from Virginia, from North Carolina, from Tennessee and Kentucky, in that stubborn charge across the open plain and up the mountain displayed the physical courage of their Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish ancestors, who never faltered on the field of carnage.

I spoke of Rev. Mr. Sanky, who went from Hanover Church into Hanover Presbytery in the Virginia Valley in 1760. He taught and preached, and the boys of his congregation after going through his blessed hands were sent to Liberty Hall and from there into the West and South in after years, where they founded the families that give character to many states, filling the highest stations of usefulness and fame. The prominent families of Tennessee, Kentucky and of Ohio had their origin

in the Scotch-Irish reservoirs of the Cumberland and Virginia Valleys. The father of Ephraim McDowell went from Pennsylvania to Virginia and peopled Burden's grant with Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania. Dr. McDowell was the greatest of the pioneer surgeons, being the first surgeon in the world to undertake ovariectomy, which successful operation distinguished him in Europe as in America. Many of the trustees of Liberty Hall were from Pennsylvania, including Rev. Carrick, Samuel Houston, and James Mitchell. President Junkins of Washington and Lee was also a Pennsylvanian, having established schools in this state before going into Virginia; and he followed the trail of the fathers into Ohio, where for years he was president of the Miami University, which has given to Ohio many of its brightest minds. He wrote a pamphlet in defense of slavery which John C. Calhoun, whose father went to North Carolina from Pennsylvania, characterized as the ablest defense of the institution he had ever read. George Rogers Clark, who won the Northwest Territory and gave to the Republic the five states of Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana and Michigan, drew from the Valley the men with the fortitude and endurance, bravery and patriotism, all men of Scotch-Irish Pennsylvania blood, to undertake and carry to success the complete conquest of the Northwest. George Rogers Clark may well be called the Hannibal of the West. President Thompson told us to-night that Anthony Wayne is neglected by the historian. George Rogers Clark, too, is neglected. While every schoolboy knows of Wayne's achievements, not one in a hundred ever heard of George Rogers Clark. This being true in Ohio what must be the knowledge of Clark in Massachusetts!

I have thus, in this rambling way, tried to establish that the Virginia Scotch-Irish were from Pennsylvania, with a view to impressing the fact that the Scotch-Irish who were among the first settlers of Ohio were of Pennsylvania blood, no matter whether they came into the state from the South or directly through the gateway to the boundless West at the meeting of the rivers. The establishment of this claim is more important than many appreciate. There are Virginia Scotch-Irish in a certain part of Ohio who lay great store in the belief that be-

cause their forefathers came from Virginia they descended from the Cavaliers.

The Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish came into Ohio in parts of congregations and in families, many of them previous to Wayne's treaty with the Indians at Greenville in 1795, up to which time no progress had been made by the settlers. No one was safe from the outrages of the Indians, incited as they were to the most diabolical deeds by the British, who continued the war in the Ohio country through their savage allies with hope of forcing the settlers to give up all attempts to hold the territory won by Clark, and thus rid the country of the sturdy men, already discouraged in the fact that it seemed almost impossible to erect a home in peace. The British inflamed the Indians with liquor and furnished them with arms with the hope that the continued outrages of the savages would force final abandonment of the Republic's claim to the treaty boundary. It was well that the pioneers were characterized by unyielding firmness, for the East, not having proper appreciation of the importance of the boundary or else being jealous of the power that might be divided by increase of territory, was willing to give up the contest for the Clark claim; but strong petitions from the sturdy women whose children had been torn from their breasts and murdered before their eyes by the savages, brought the East to a realization of the awful condition of the settlers. Then came Anthony Wayne, the historian tells us, crashing through the forest like a behemoth. The achievement of Clark and the victory of Wayne mark the two most notable epochs in the annals of the West.

While it is true that the first settlement noted in the histories was made by forty-eight Puritans at Marietta, in 1788, there were Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish settlements previous to that time, notably at the mouth of the Scioto river in 1785 by four families from the Redstone Presbytery, while at the same time there was a larger settlement at what is now called Martins Ferry, a few miles above Wheeling, where a government had been organized with two justices in office. The father of John McDonald, the famous Indian fighter, and companion of Clark, Simon Kenton, Duncan McArthur and J. B. Finley, whose

historical notes preserve the brave deeds of daring times, with his stalwart sons from Northumberland county, settled on the Mingo bottom previous to 1780. The great majority of the Indian fighters who fought and suffered as no men in history fought and suffered before, that the Ohio country might be made a home of peace and plenty, were from Pennsylvania and of the royal blood—Generals Wilkinson, Butler, Irvine, Findley, Hickson, Finley, John and Thomas McDonald, the Lewises, the McCulloughs, Col. Richard Johnson, who killed Tecumseh; Col. Crawford, whose awful death at the stake fills one with horror even to this day when the mind reverts to it; Col. Robert Patterson, one of the founders of Cincinnati; Col. Williamson, of Gnadenhutten fame; Samuel Brady, the Marion of the West; and Andrew and Adam Poe, who killed the big Indian, and Simon Girty—you all know without me telling you that Simon Girty, the renegade, was contributed to Ohio by Pennsylvania, likewise McGee and Elliot, all traitors. As wicked as Simon Girty was, as hated as he was, because of his diabolical character, he did one good turn for the pioneer settlers of Ohio—he saved the life of Simon Kenton when this life was needed, which he could not have done had he not been with and of the Indians; and if we are good Presbyterians we must believe that he was a renegade for this very purpose. The Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Indian fighters were very much in evidence in the Ohio country, and their daring exploits are the most thrilling chapters in the history of the Northwest Territory. They were men of iron frame, whose resolution never winced at danger, and with the endurance to bear pain with the fortitude of stoics. These men were created, and no one who follows the trail of blood that is the pathway to their achievement, can believe otherwise, to found this great empire of the Northwest. They have never been given the full measure of honor due them, nor do those who enjoy the fruits of their victories appreciate the sacrifices they made and the hardships they endured. It is well that there were giants in those days.

There is a disposition among the people of the present day to even cast the reproach of murder upon the brave hearts whose every movement was constantly filled with apprehension

of awful outrages by Indians. General Williamson and his Scotch-Irish soldiers from Pennsylvania have had their memories clouded by even those who should defend, or at least excuse, the massacre of the Moravian Indians at Gnadenhutten on the Tuscarawas, and I take it as a privilege on this occasion to declare, and this fact should be borne in mind, that the British were wholly responsible for this massacre; in fact they planned the scheme at Detroit. The hostile Indians who were the allies of the British, had captured the missionaries having in charge the Moravian Indians, and with the Christian Indians had taken them to Sandusky on a trumped-up charge. The winter following was a very severe one, and provisions ran short, and about one hundred of the Christian Indians were given permission to return to the Tuscarawas river to gather corn left standing in the field when they were taken away. At the same time warriors were sent to murder the whites in the Ohio Valley to incense the Americans against the Indians, the British knowing they would organize and make cause against the Moravians on the Tuscarawas, and in doing so would be reproached by the civilized world. These red warriors crossed the Ohio about fifty miles below Fort Pitt, and committed all sorts of awful depredations, among them the murder of Mrs. Wallace and her babe. Col. Williamson and his men marched to the Moravian village, and finding the Indians there and in possession of Mrs. Wallace's bloody garments, naturally supposed that the Christian Indians were at least in part responsible for her death, just as the British at Detroit had anticipated. There has been much written about Colonel Williamson, "the murderer of Christian Indians," just as there has been much written against the Paxtang boys in Pennsylvania; but those who would cloud the memories of Colonel Williamson and the Paxtang boys do not appreciate the conditions then obtaining. The pioneer to whom we owe everything is entitled to every doubt. He knew the treacherous nature of the Indians as well as the diabolical character of the British who carried on the warfare in the West, and it was natural to suspect every Indian and trust none, Christian or otherwise; the British were of a Christian nation, so called, and they could not be trusted. Why should a savage

under the British flag be trusted simply because he professed Christianity? As matters turned out, the massacre of those Christian Indians was a great wrong, but I do not call it a crime except as I charge it against the British. Rather than blacken the memory of those pioneer soldiers with the charge of murder, I would erect a monument on every hill and in every valley where they shed their blood. On these occasions when we celebrate the wonderful achievements of the fathers we should rejoice in the fact that they were men of stern stuff. They were wonderful men, the like of whom we shall never see more. There was no emotional sentiment manifested by them when an Indian's head was seen peeping from behind a tree. They "left their cause with heaven" and kept their powder dry. They were cool, deliberate Presbyterians.

The Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish and not the Puritans from New England were and are now the great factors in the progress of Ohio; I care not from what point we view progress, whether religious, educational, industrial or commercial, I make the claim for the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish, after the most careful search possible, using the various county histories for data. Pennsylvania gave to Ohio no less than a dozen Governors, ten of them Scotch-Irish. Ten of our counties were named for Pennsylvania Scotch-Irishmen, and they are abiding monuments to some of the bravest men of pioneer days—Wayne, Logan, Ross, Mercer, Darke, Crawford, Butler, Fulton, Allen, and Morrow. Pennsylvania gave to Ohio its ablest statesmen, its most eloquent orators, its ablest jurists, its most noted educators, and a look through the directories of many of the counties allows me to say that the great majority of the officers of the financial institutions and those who manage the great industrial and commercial enterprises are of this blood and either from Pennsylvania or are descendants of the pioneers from your state.

The Presbyterians as well as other ministers came to Ohio from Pennsylvania; and I should mention here that in my research I find that in most countries the first church erected was of the Presbyterian communion. This alone gives a strong suggestion as to the influence of the Scotch-Irish in Ohio. Had

the Puritans been the great factor in the settlement of the state the first churches would have been of another communion—the Puritans burned the first Presbyterian church built in Massachusetts. In the city, where I lived for twenty-five years, founded by your Senator Ross, six of the seven Presbyterian ministers are natives of Pennsylvania, and the seventh a descendant of a Pennsylvanian. John Rankin, whose ancestors settled in Pennsylvania one hundred and sixty years ago, and whose father was a soldier of the Revolution, came to Ohio through Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, founded the Free Presbyterian church, and was one of the finest specimens of physical manhood that ever blessed the earth. He came to Ohio after the Virginia ordinance of cession was adopted, to get away from the environments of slavery, as did also Francis McCormack, the founder of one of the first Methodist churches in the Territory. It was from this stock that the abolition sentiment got its spirit, its abiding force. While the handful of Puritans who settled Marietta have been given the credit in history, the truth is, the Scotch-Irish from the Virginia Valley gave the abolition movement its men of steadfastness of purpose—men who never gave up the fight until the victory was won. President Ruffner, of Washington and Lee university, wrote one of the first pamphlets issued advocating abolition of slavery. It was John Rankin's home that gave succor to George Harris, made famous by Mrs. Stowe, and it was John Rankin who organized the underground railroad by which many slaves escaped to Canada and to liberty. As I have said, Bishop Simpson was of the same blood; so was that other powerful Methodist divine, Dr. William Hunter, whose sweet songs of praise are in nearly all the church hymnals. So was Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Disciples church, which has exerted vast influence in the Ohio country, and of which communion President Garfield was a distinguished member. The college founded by Dr. Campbell is a West Virginia, Ohio and Pennsylvania institution, so near the lines that all can enjoy its influence, as all three states enjoy the influence of Washington and Jefferson. Alexander Clark, the most noted minister of the Methodist Protestant church, the founder of the first magazine for chil-

dren, *The Schoolday Visitor*, which afterwards became *The St. Nicholas*; for years editor of the *Methodist Recorder* at Pittsburgh, the author of books that are a part of the nation's most interesting and instructive literature, was of the same virile strain. The Scotch-Irish ministers of the Gospel are not all Presbyterian, but very few Presbyterian ministers are of other breeds. I must not neglect to mention here Rev. Joseph Hughes, who was born in Washington county, and in 1810 established the first Presbyterian church in Delaware county, Ohio. He was not a characteristic Presbyterian minister, although some folks would say he had many of the traits that distinguish our blood. He would pitch quoits for the grog, play the fiddle for the dance, and preach as long a sermon as any minister in the Presbytery, and when brought before the church court he made such an able defense that he was permitted to go on with his long sermons, quoit pitching, grog and fiddling.

The first church built in Cincinnati, the metropolis of the State, founded by men of the strong force of character of Colonel Patterson, who was with Clark, and given its name by General St. Clair, whose remains lie out there in the Greensburg Cemetery, was of this communion, and on the subscription list I find the names of Dr. Allison, surgeon of General St. Clair's and General Wayne's armies, Captains Ford, Elliott, and Peters, and General Wilkinson, the roll being dated 1792. Among the first settlers of Cincinnati was John Filson, a pioneer school teacher, who was born in the Cumberland Valley. He wrote the first history of the Western country, which was published as early as 1784. He also published a history of Kentucky and made a map of that State, being among the first surveyors to venture among the Indians, and he met death at their hands near Cincinnati.

The Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish looked upon education as the strongest factor that moved the world along the way of progress, and the school house was one of the first buildings erected in a settlement. The Scotch-Irish schoolmaster was ever abroad in the land. The annals of Ohio are filled with incidents of the pioneer schoolmaster, who always had a standing in the community next to that of the minister himself, who was always held

in the highest reverence. The father of Dr. Jeffers, of the Western Theological Seminary, was one of the early itinerant school teachers in Eastern Ohio. His eccentricity of pronunciation invariably stumped the pupil, for he would not know whether the word given out to be spelled was "beet" or "bait," whether "floor" or "fleur," but Jeffers would explain that "bait" was a "red root," and "fleur" was a "boord" to walk on; and through the influence of the good man's erudition and hickory gad, the sons and daughters of the settlers waxed strong in knowledge. Dr. John McMillen founded several colleges in Ohio, one of them, Franklin, in Harrison county, settled by Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish, which is still a flourishing institution, and in its years of usefulness gave to America many statesmen and jurists, among them men of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish blood, your Senator Cowan, John A. Bingham, Judges Welch and Lawrence, while hundreds of Presbyterian ministers have been taught within its walls, among them Dr. J. H. Sharp, of your city. Athens county, in which the State University is located, the first college in the State, was settled by our people, and Thomas Ewing and John Hunter were the first graduates, being the first collegiate alumni in the West. Thomas Ewing was one of the greatest statesmen Ohio ever produced — strong, sincere, intellectual to the highest degree. It was in his family that the Shermans were reared. Of the Athens University W. H. McGuffey, the noted author of school books still widely in use in the public schools, was the president for years. He was also a professor in the Miami University, another Scotch-Irish college, and of the Virginia University. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1800; a man whose sterling qualities of mind and heart marked him as a teacher of power and influence. Joseph Ray, the author of mathematical works, as an educator displayed a scope of mind force that was an honor to his race. Rev. George Buchanan, in whose academy the great War Secretary, Edwin M. Stanton, received his classical education, was born in the "Barrens," so prolific of men prominent in the affairs of the Republic. Col. John Johnson, one of the founders of Kenyon College, one of the most noted of the Protestant Episcopal institutions of learning in the land, was reared in Penn-

sylvania. He was the first president of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, and the author of the "Indian Tribes of Ohio," a standard work published by the United States Government. He possessed those intellectual qualities to which all pay homage, and his influence had a wide scope of power. The father of Professor Sloane, of Columbia, was a Pennsylvania Scotch-Irishman who taught in a Scotch-Irish academy in Jefferson county—Professor Sloane is the author of the ablest "Life of Napoleon" ever written. Dr. C. C. Beatty, whose munificent gift made possible the union of Washington and Jefferson Colleges, founded at Steubenville, Ohio, the first distinctive seminary for the higher education of women west of the mountains, which institution was conducted for many years by Dr. A. M. Reid, a native of Beaver county, and to-day a trustee of the Western Theological Seminary and of Washington and Jefferson. Dr. Reid's trained mind and scope for usefulness have not been without influence in Ohio; his influence has been much wider. The noble women who have gone out from the sacred precincts of the old seminary are in every missionary field, home and foreign. This institution is still being conducted by a Pennsylvanian, Miss Stewart, whose Scotch-Irish blood gives assurance that the power of the school will continue a factor of progress. Francis Glass, of Londonderry stock, came from Pennsylvania to Ohio in 1817, and taught one of the first classical schools. His building was a primitive one, a log college to be sure—clapboard roof, windows of oiled paper, benches of hewn timber; but notwithstanding all this lack of conveniences, like the Tennants of sacred memory, he sent out into the world boys well equipped for contests in the intellectual arena. He had forty pupils in the backwoods settlement, and whenever an additional pupil "knocked at his door for admission to his classes, he would be so rejoiced that his whole soul appeared to beam from his countenance," writes a former pupil. Such was the intense interest in the work, such the benevolence of the Scotch-Irish schoolmaster of the pioneer days, to whom our fathers owe so much and to whom we owe more. Glass published a two hundred and twenty-three page "Life of Washington" in Latin, and that such a work in Latin should have been written in the back-

woods by a schoolmaster was for years a marvel to those who did not know of the scholastic attainments of the Scotch-Irish boys even of pioneer days. Rev. J. B. Finley, the Indian fighter and itinerant Methodist preacher, was an educated man, although we often hear stated in derision of the Methodist Church that her early ministers were illiterate. He studied Greek and Latin in his father's academies in North Carolina and Kentucky, established on his trail from Pennsylvania to Ohio. When his father's congregation settled Chillicothe, the first capital of the State, he was a Presbyterian and a member of his father's church, but he "became converted" and was for years the most noted itinerant preacher of the country, and exerted more influence for good in the Ohio region than any other man in the State. He preached in every county and organized churches everywhere. He founded the Indian schools and mission at Wyandott, the site of which institution is marked by a memorial church erected by the Methodist Episcopal Conference on ground given for the purpose by the United States Government. His autobiography is a record of pioneer times, and to its pages the historian must turn for data of the achievement of the early settlers. John Stewart was the first to preach the gospel-bearing tidings of peace and goodwill to the Wyandotts. Allen Trimble, Acting Governor one term and Governor two terms, while Acting Governor appointed the commission, a majority of whose members were of Pennsylvania stock, including Judge William Johnson, that formulated the public school system that is the brightest star in our diadem, which system was afterwards perfected by Samuel Galloway, born at Gettysburg of Revolutionary stock, a teacher, jurist, statesman, upon whose advice and opinion Lincoln set high value. The Trimbles came to Ohio from Augusta county, Virginia, Allen having been carried in his mother's arms while she rode horseback through the trackless forest. There is a tradition in the family that the farm occupied by them in the Virginia Valley was shown their ancestor by an Indian in return for a favor shown him in the woods of Pennsylvania. Gen. O. M. Mitchell, teacher, astronomer, soldier, was of the Virginia-Kentucky stock which I have shown had its origin in Pennsylvania. We could rest our honors on his achievement and still be sure of an abiding place in the mem-

ory of those who instruct the youth of the land. While Mitchell explored the heavens, Jeremiah Reynolds explored the earth beneath, his expedition to the South Pole being one of the notable events of the early days. John Cleves Symmes, nephew of the founder of the first settlement of the Miami Valley, a New Jersey Scotchman, promulgated the theory of concentric spheres, holding that the earth is hollow, inhabitable within and widely open at the poles. Reynolds undertook the expedition with a view of proving the Symmes theory. Adams' administration fitted out a ship for the expedition, but Jackson coming in as President, Government aid was withheld; but Reynolds, undaunted by this turn of affairs, started on a private expedition, reaching within eight degrees of the pole. Mordecai Bartley, a native of Fayette county, who succeeded his son as Governor of Ohio, and who represented Ohio for three terms in Congress, was the first man to propose the conversion of land grants into a permanent school fund. The father of C. L. Vallandigham, whose fight for freedom of speech is a part of the nation's history, was a Washington county Scotch-Irish Huguenot and a Presbyterian preacher, to whose classical academy we are largely indebted for the foundation of the scholarship of the justly celebrated McCook family also of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish blood.

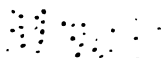
Inasmuch as the greatest measure of influence is exerted in a community through efforts along educational lines, I have spoken at length on this point of my subject. And there is much more that might be recorded here to show the high place held by Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish in the educational history of Ohio. I might omit all I have said and be able to record other achievements along educational lines and still show that our blood stands out in bolder relief than the Puritan as a factor of education in Ohio; yet the Puritan is given the credit for the moral and material progress of our people, and all because forty-eight Puritans settled at Marietta and made so much fuss about it that the advertising done then is still alive. But the town did not grow in a hundred years after the settlement in 1788, and then took a spurt as result of the discovery of oil by Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish.

The Pennsylvanian has served Ohio in both branches of Congress, the first territorial delegate being William McMullen, and the first State Representative Jeremiah Morrow; the first Governor was Arthur St. Clair, the first Judge Jeremiah Dunlavy. The Pennsylvania Scotch-Irishman has been on the Supreme Bench; he has gone from Ohio to the President's Cabinet. It is said that in 1817 a majority of the Lower House of the State Legislature were natives of Washington county, and I believe it, for my investigations have disclosed the fact that the Pennsylvanian is apt to hold office, especially if he gets into Ohio from Washington county and he also be a Scotch-Irishman. As late as 1846 one-fourth of the members of the State Legislature were from Pennsylvania. We all know that one of the warmest gubernatorial contests in the state's history was when Governor Vance and Governor Shannon were pitted against each other in 1836, one a native of Washington county and the other's father from that county. Vance's father was the first settler of Champaign county and Shannon's father one of the first settlers of Belmont, the son being the first native of Ohio to hold the office of Governor. Vance and Shannon held the office two terms each. I think I am safe in making the claim that one or more Pennsylvania Scotch-Irishmen are now holding office in each courthouse in Ohio. The two greatest lawyers of the pioneer west were Judge Jacob Burnett and Judge John McLean, who were born just over the river here, and near enough to be counted in the family. Their influence had a wide scope and it still goes on. The wife of McLean was a daughter of Charlotte Chambers, one of the foremost women of the Cumberland Valley. President Harrison was born in Ohio, but his mother was a Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish woman. Vice President Hendricks, although credited to Indiana, was a native of Ohio, but his people were of Westmoreland Scotch-Irish stock, and he was a cousin of my father. President McKinley was of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish blood; so is Senator Hanna, his Warwick.

Governor Jeremiah Morrow was a native of Gettysburg, and without doubt impressed himself on the progress of Ohio more than any other man holding office in the gift of the people.

He was a characteristic Scotch-Irishman, mentally, physically and religiously. He was the father of the national pike and other internal improvements that gave Ohio her first impetus in industrial progress. He was Congressman, Senator, Governor, and of him Henry Clay said, "His influence was greater than that of any of his contemporaries, for his integrity was so fully recognized and appreciated that every one had faith in any measure he brought before Congress." A prominent Pennsylvanian, a few years ago, in referring to a newspaper article I had written on Governor Morrow, said that he was the finest example of the statesman of the old school with whom he had ever come in contact, noble, honest and brave. I have been greatly gratified to meet in this assemblage to-night a relative of Governor Morrow, Mr. T. Elliott Patterson, of your city, and I want to say that he may well be proud of the blood that courses his veins. Morrow's successor in the Senate in 1819 was William A. Trimble, of the same royal Pennsylvania blood.

It is a fact shown by the census that there are to-day more natives of Pennsylvania in three-fourths of the Ohio counties than natives of any other state, Ohio excepted, and in this list I include counties on the western border as well as Washington county, the first county settled by the New England Puritans; I include the Western Reserve, first settled by the Yankees of Connecticut, which settlement was made thirty-three years before a church was built, though a whisky distillery was in operation all those years. This can never be said of the Scotch-Irish settlers, no matter whence they came. Our forefathers had their weakness for distilleries, too, but they always had the church in operation before the distillery was built; yet there are those who place great store in Mayflower blood and sneer at us because our forefathers had a little trouble with the revenue collector over in Washington county away back in the last century. I admit that on occasions even to this day there are Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish in Ohio who will take a drink of mountain dew, but never without an excuse. One of them said to me the other day that he had "the iron in his soul," and he took a little liquor to mix with it for a tonic.



The claims made for the Puritan settlement at Marietta give us an example of Puritan audacity; the New England settlements on the Western Reserve give us examples of Yankee ingenuity. In Connecticut he made nutmegs of wood; in Ohio he makes maple molasses of glucose and hickory bark. In New England the Puritan bored the Quaker tongue with red-hot poker; in Ohio he dearly loves to roast Democrats. The Reserve was the home of crankisms. Joseph Smith started the Mormon Church in Lake county. And there were others, some of whom the Northern Ohio emigrant took with him to Kansas.

In the graveyard on the hill above Chillicothe lie the remains of four Governors, two of them Pennsylvania Scotch-Irishmen—one the noble William Allen, a strong man from every point of view, whose every distinguishing trait was Scotch-Irish, a very Jackson; but because his people went from Pennsylvania into North Carolina they were said to be Quakers, which calls to mind the fact that when I was a boy all Pennsylvanians were either Quaker or Dutch. In several of the county histories I also find the statement that the early settlers were "Quakers and Germans from Pennsylvania," but in the list of settlers given the "Macs" predominate. Achilles Pugh, the first publisher of an abolition paper in Ohio, came from Pennsylvania and was called a Quaker, but who ever heard of a Quaker giving that name to his son? The other Scotch-Irish Governor buried in the Chillicothe cemetery was Duncan McArthur, who, although not a native of our State, was reared to manhood in the old Commonwealth, and became one of the most notable figures in Ohio—soldier, surveyor, Indian fighter, statesman, Governor. William Allen's sister was the mother of Allen G. Thurman, the noblest Roman of them all, and Allen's wife was a daughter of McArthur.

In literature and journalism the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish have always held a prominent place in Ohio. Dr. McCook has already told of the fact that Foster, the greatest American song writer, lived in Ohio, and no one of his nobility of character and intellectual attainments could go in and out among a people without exerting influence. General Lytle, the author of

"I am dying, Egypt, dying;
Crimson flows the ebbing tide,"

one of the most beautiful poems in the English language, was the grandson of Gen. Lytle, born at Cumberland, Pa., whose Spartan-like conduct at Grant's defeat in Indiana in the War of 1812 is a part of history. James Buchanan Reed, the author of "Sheridan's Ride," which has become an American classic, was a Pennsylvania Scotch-Irishman. James McBride, the historian and archæologist, supplying much of the manuscript and drawings for the "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," a very important work, was born at Newcastle. He was a careful historian, and to him we are greatly indebted for much of the early history preserved in book form. In journalism our blood has been pre-eminent in the Ohio field, the first paper in the state having been launched by William Maxwell in 1793. Colonel Miller, who is noted as the commander of the sortie from Fort Meigs during the war of 1812, one of the most daring acts of that war, when he rushed out under fire and spiked the British cannon with files and won the battle, was a journalist, having started a paper in Steubenville in 1806. Colonel Miller came into Ohio by the way of the Virginia Valley. His successor, James Wilson, the grandfather of President Woodrow Wilson of Princeton, was a pupil of Duane, of *The Aurora*. Samuel Medary, one of the most prominent Ohio editors, especially during the exciting war period, his journal, the *Columbus Crisis*, being a very strong advocate of peace, married a daughter of James Wilson. M. Halstead's ancestors came to Ohio from Pennsylvania, and our blood has every reason to be proud of his achievements as an editor. The McLeans, who for two generations have held the throttle of that great engine, the *Cincinnati Enquirer*; S. G. McClure, of the *Columbus Journal*; and Morrow, late of the *Cleveland Leader*, all among the foremost journals in America, are of the same stock.

The first woolen mills west of the mountains were established just after the second war for Independence at Steubenville, by your Senator James Ross, and it was in these mills that the first broadcloth ever made in America was produced. James Ross and his partner, Mr. Dickinson, whom I believe to have

been of the same royal stock, introduced into America the Spanish sheep that were the foundation of the great wool-growing industry of Eastern Ohio and Western Pennsylvania. John Campbell invented the hot blast employed in iron furnaces, and James Means erected the first iron furnace north of the Ohio. The first furnace west of the mountains was erected by a Grant near the Virginia-Pennsylvania-Ohio line, and the cannon balls used by Perry in the battle of Lake Erie were made in this furnace and carried on the backs of horses to the lake shore. And, by the way, Perry's mother was Scotch-Irish and, for years after fought, the battle of Lake Erie was called Mrs. Perry's victory by the people of Rhode Island who appreciated her force of character. It may not be amiss to say in this connection that some of the men who gave the New Englanders basis for their claims as to Ohio got their forceful characteristics from the Scotch-Irish blood of their mothers, notably bluff Ben Wade — born in Massachusetts, was educated by his mother, his father being without means, and coming to Ohio, settled in the Western Reserve, and ever since has been in the galaxy of Puritan greatness. Chief Justice Chase was born in Vermont, his mother being Scotch, but his achievements have been placed to the glorification of the Puritan blood. Joshua Reid Giddings, who gave the Reserve its greatest renown as the producer of great men, was a native of Pennsylvania, his birthplace being Athens. I do not claim him as a Scotch-Irishman, but he had all the distinguishing traits; and his name will ever shine as one of the brightest stars in the Buckeye diadem. If Pennsylvania had given birth to but one man, and that man Joshua Reid Giddings, her place in the pantheon where we celebrate immortals would be assured. James Geddes and Samuel Forrer, the pioneer engineers, who did much to develop Ohio and give her her proper place in the progress of nations, were natives of the Keystone state. The father of J. Q. A. Ward, America's most noted sculptor, was a pioneer, coming from the great commonwealth.

The most notable events that mark epochs in the history of Ohio are monuments of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irishmen: The first settlement at the mouth of the Scioto; Wayne's treaty with the Indians; adoption of the Constitution; the building of the first

steamboat on the Ohio river by Fulton; the building of the National pike and the canals; the formation of a public school system; and, coming down to the present, the nomination and election of a President by Mark Hanna. McKinley was a Scotch-Irishman with the sign of the Keystone blown on his front; and Mark Hanna — I made an effort to discover that he was a descendant of Judge Hanna of Hanna's town, but was discouraged by running against the fact that the old gentleman never had a son. Pennsylvania may not be the mother of presidents, but she holds a higher position in the sisterhood — she is the grandmother of the Ohio man. General Grant was born in Ohio, but his mother was a Bucks county Simpson. And however strange it may appear to us, Jefferson Davis was one of the same family of Simpsons! The generals Ohio gave to command Federal troops in the war of the Rebellion were largely of the royal family. I have mentioned Grant, the greatest captain of the age; and there is General Porter, his companion and commander of the Ohio division; he was a native of the Juniata Valley, and has been selected by the President to represent our country as ambassador to France. There were the McDowells, the Gilmours, the brilliant Steedman, the hero of Chicamauga — he was born in Northumberland county; George W. Morgan, the hero of two wars, was a Washington county product; and as further evidence that blood will tell, I need only mention the fact that Major Daniel and Dr. John McCook, the fathers of nine commissioned officers in the army, were born in Washington county. And how appropriate it all was that Gen. George B. McClelland should be placed in command of the Ohio troops! General Harmar, who procured Grant's admission to West Point, was a Pennsylvanian, but I am not certain as to his race. And John Randolph said that Pennsylvania produced but two great men, one from Massachusetts, the other from Switzerland!

But I should not close without giving credit to the Palatinate German for the introduction of the long rifle, which made possible the settlement of Ohio by the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania.

The long rifle was brought to the interior of your state by German immigrants; it was a true weapon, and with it the Indian fighters became marksmen. When a pioneer went out with a

long rifle and a dozen charges he returned with that number of game or the unused bullets. It was with this weapon that the sharpshooters of the Revolutionary war were armed, and these sharpshooters were largely Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish pioneers; although without the German rifle they would have been ineffective. The rifle was not in use at tide-water; it was unknown in New England. Had the brave men at Bunker Hill possessed these weapons instead of muskets, it would not have been necessary for them to await the sight of the whites of the British eyes. Had it not been for the long rifle, Ohio never could have been settled.

The authorities consulted are —

The Scotch-Irish in Augusta; Col. Boliver Christian's Notes; Caldwell's History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties; Pathfinders of Jefferson County (Hunter's); J. B. Finley's Autobiography; Dr. Morgan's Biography of Col. John McDonald; Dr. Perry, Williams College; Dr. Alexander White's Presidents of Washington and Lee; Howe's Historical Collections; Rev. Thomas Robbins' Dairy; Hildreth's Pioneer History; Scotch-Irish in America.

GREATNESS OF OHIO.

[Address delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the Admission of Ohio into the Federal Union, held under the Auspices of the Ohio Republican Association of Washington City, May 23, 1903.]

BY HON. D. K. WATSON, PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

One hundred years ago a portion of what was known as the Northwest Territory was admitted as a State into the Federal Union. By an act of Congress the people of the future state were to give it a name. Subsequently the name Ohio was selected.

It was the fourth state admitted into the Union since the establishment of the Federal Government on the 4th of March, 1789.

During the present week the people of Ohio have duly celebrated this event, and it is eminently proper for this Association, in this formal way and in the capital of the nation, to recognize the centennial of the admission of its state into the Federal Union. It is the only time in a hundred years such a celebration would have been appropriate, and it will be another hundred years before it will be appropriate again.

In area the state is not large, being less than the average area of the states which constitute the Union and embracing about twenty-six million acres of land or forty-four thousand square miles of territory, which is subdivided into eighty-eight counties.

Geographically, the location was exceedingly favorable for future development. The great Northwest Territory a hundred years ago was attracting the attention of the nation and the world. Ohio, bounded on the south by the Ohio river and on the north by Lake Erie, constituted the gateway through which the mighty tide of population passed on its western march, and in addition to those who moved there for the purpose of establishing homes, many who had determined to locate farther west were induced by the fertility of her soil, her favorable location, and her bright prospects, to settle and remain within her boundary. From the day when she was admitted as a state she has been a most conspicuous part of the Federal Union.

Her first capital was Chillicothe; her first United States Senators, Thomas Worthington and John Smith; her first representative in Congress, Jeremiah Morrow.

Her first constitution was adopted in 1802, which she was required to adopt before she could be admitted into the Union. Her present constitution was adopted in 1851.

So marvelous had been the progress of the state to the year 1825, that General Lafayette who visited it in that year, said it was "the eighth wonder of the world."

It was not within the wisdom of man at the time Ohio was admitted into the Union to foresee how wonderful was to be her progress and how marvelous was to be her social, religious, educational, political and military influence upon the Republic. Planting herself upon the principles of religious liberty and political freedom, as enunciated in the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, the Bill of Rights in the first constitution provided:

1st. All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and unalienable rights; amongst which the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

2d. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

3d. All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of conscience; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; that no man shall be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent; and that no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious society or mode of worship, and no religious test shall be required, as a qualification, to any office of trust or profit. But religion, morality and knowledge, being essentially necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of instruction shall forever be encouraged by legislative provision, not inconsistent with the rights of conscience.

Concerning the freedom of the press, the constitution contained the following:

The printing presses shall be open and free to every citizen who wishes to examine the proceedings of any branch of government, or the

conduct of any public officer; and no law shall ever restrain the right thereof. Every citizen has an indisputable right to speak, write or print, upon any subject, as he thinks proper, being liable for the abuse of that liberty. In prosecutions for any publication respecting the official conduct of men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may always be given in evidence.

On the subject of education, it provided:

That no law shall be passed to prevent the poor in the several counties and townships within this State from an equal participation in the schools, academies, colleges and universities, which are endowed, in whole or in part, from the revenue arising from donations made by the United States, for the support of schools and colleges; and the doors of the said schools, academies and universities, shall be open for the reception of scholars, students and teachers, of every grade, without any distinction or preference whatever, contrary to the intent for which said donations were made.

The result of her wise and liberal course in reference to education may be seen when we recognize that there are to-day in Ohio more colleges than in any state in the Union, and that of her population which numbers more than four millions of people, more than ninety per cent can read and write.

Some conception of her commercial progress may be had when we realize that there are almost twelve thousand miles of railroad within her borders, that each of her eighty-eight counties is traversed by railroads; and that her five largest cities considered in their numerical order are larger than any five cities in their numerical order in any state in the country.

Conspicuous as Ohio has been in every attribute which contributes to the dignity and worth of statehood, her preeminence is more marked by reason of the world-wide fame and influence attained by so many of her distinguished citizens than from any other cause. I have always thought that the union of the thirteen original states into one republic was the world's greatest achievement in the domain of civil or political government, and that it was a great thing for a single state to be a member of the Federal Union. It brings it strength and solidity, and safety in time of war; but while it is a great thing for a state to be an integral part of the Union, it is a far greater thing to be a presidential state of the Union, — a state to which the other states look for

presidents, to have one of her citizens, or one who had been born within her borders, and had become a citizen elsewhere, selected as the representative citizen of the nation. Such is the highest honor a state can achieve. Such a state is Ohio. Counted by this test, she has furnished six presidents of the Republic, or more than one-fourth the whole number of presidents who were elected. By the same test, she has also furnished one-tenth of the present United States Senators, one-twelfth of the members of the present House of Representatives, one-fourth of the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, five Associate Justices of that court, sixteen cabinet officers, one chief justice and two associate justices of the Court of Claims, and two chief justices and one associate justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and one Speaker of the House of Representatives. A little more than fifty years ago five native boys were living in Ohio each of whom became president of the United States. In addition to this array of genius our state has sent forth sons who have become eminent as leaders in other states; for forty years the State of Indiana has been represented and is still being represented in the United States Senate by men born in Ohio, and almost every state in the mighty West is represented in official life by men native of our own state.

But our State has made other conquests in the domain of civil affairs. The history of her judiciary is the history of a long line of eminent judges, many of whom acquired national fame as jurists, while her representatives in Congress have been prominent as orators, financiers and statesmen. Thomas Corwin was probably unsurpassed as a popular orator by any American, while as great debaters in the National House of Representatives, Schenck, Shellabarger, Bingham, Garfield, McKinley, and others I might name, were hardly equaled, and Simpson, a native of the state, was the most eloquent bishop of the republic, and Gunsaulus, another native, is the ablest pulpit orator of the country.

Yet more distinguished have been her sons in the camp, on the march, and in the field of battle. In the War of 1812, though she was young and weak in numbers, she furnished her just proportion of troops, who fought valiently for their flag and country. In the war with Mexico her soldiers were brave

and gallant and the brilliant Hamer, whose eloquence as an orator had won him national fame and who as a member of Congress had appointed Grant to West Point, met his death in the storming of Monterey. But it was in the great civil war between the states in which she received her greatest renown because of the radiant glory which her sons won in that immortal struggle. The greatest generals of that war were from Ohio. The three who, by the common consent of the world, displayed the greatest military genius and led the armies to the greatest success in that awful struggle, and whose names fill the universe with glory, were her sons. In addition to this, she furnished nineteen major-generals and fifty three brigadier-generals.

Proud as we are of this wonderful record of the sons of our noble state in the conflict for the preservation of the Union, we are equally proud of the fact that her contribution to the rank and file of the army was three hundred and forty thousand men. Of this number it has been said six thousand five hundred and thirty-six were killed outright in battle; four thousand six hundred and seventy-four were mortally wounded and died in hospitals; thirteen thousand three hundred and fifty-four died of disease contracted in the service; and that eighty-four out of every thousand enlisted men from Ohio lost their lives in the war for the Union. With the exception of those who were taken prisoners at Saratoga and Yorktown, the entire loss in battle of every kind, in both the British and American armies during the war of the Revolution was twenty-one thousand five hundred and twenty-six, being four thousand less than Ohio's loss in the War of the Rebellion.

No wonder it has been said that President Lincoln was accustomed to ask, just before a great battle was to be fought, "How many Ohio soldiers would take part;" and on one occasion when some one inquired why he always asked that question, replied, "Because I know that if there are many Ohio soldiers to be engaged, it is probable we will win the battle, for they can always be relied upon in such an emergency."

Flattering as this record is, it hardly surpasses the contribution which Ohio made to the civil side of that great contest. So conspicuous were her sons in the administration of the

civil affairs of the Government during that crisis that a distinguished citizen of Ohio, who was an eminent member of Congress, and a general in the Civil War, has said that "eight Ohio men in civil life did as much or more probably to ensure the success of the Union cause than any eight of the generals whom the state sent to the field. Those were Edwin M. Stanton, Salmon P. Chase, John Sherman, Benjamin F. Wade, William Dennison, David Tod, John Brough and Jay Cooke."

A single reference will illustrate the prominence of Ohio men in the political affairs of the country. In the attempt to impeach President Johnson, the Chief Justice who presided at the trial was from Ohio. If the President had been convicted, Senator Wade of Ohio would have succeeded to the Presidency. The manager of the impeachment proceedings was the eloquent John A. Bingham, of Ohio, one of the foremost members of the House of Representatives. Among the eminent counsel for the President were Henry Stanbery and William S. Groesbeck, each from Ohio, and each among the most eminent lawyers of the nation.

At the very beginning of the great Civil War, Governor Dennison telegraphed this patriotic message to President Lincoln, which deserves to be engraved on the front door of our State capitol: "Ohio must lead throughout this war." How prophetic were those words, for Ohio did lead throughout the war and she has led the nation ever since. Her ascendancy has universally been recognized, and her future promises to be as glorious as her past.

The marvelous success of our State is not due to the wheel of chance. Chance is fickle, but our State has maintained her supremacy for a hundred years, not only in the distinction which her sons have achieved in every avenue of life, but by the great body of her people. Her sons have been honest, laborious, frugal, and constant to the best instincts and purposes of life. Her daughters have been noble, Christian, virtuous and beautiful in every attribute of womanhood, while almost every home was consecrated to education, patriotism and the refining influences of Christianity. The people of Ohio believed in the schoolhouse and the church. They educated in the one and worshipped in

the other. It would, perhaps, be impossible to assign any special cause for the remarkable success of our State as represented by her sons in public estimation, but I have always felt that it was largely the result of the different characteristics of the early settlers of the State. There poured into northeastern Ohio the shrewd, far-seeing, calculating, intellectual New Englander; while into the southern portion of the State there went the warm-blooded, impulsive, passionate, generous, brave, and eloquent Virginian. The representatives of these civilizations became distinguished men. In the order of time their children intermarried and produced the best combination of brain and blood and heart the nation has seen, and to this cause I largely attribute the ascendancy of our State.

Daniel Webster once said, in speaking of Massachusetts: "I have no encomium to pronounce upon Massachusetts. She needs none. There she stands." I have an encomium to pronounce upon Ohio, not because she needs it, but because she deserves it: There she stands, the foremost state in the American Union.

ARE THE HOPEWELL COPPER OBJECTS PREHISTORIC?*

BY WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.

At the Washington meeting of the American Anthropological Association, held conjointly with Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, I read a brief paper on the Hopewell copper objects, and it is now my wish to present a more extended communication on the subject.

Mr. Clarence B. Moore, whose valuable work in southeastern United States is so favorably known to all who are interested in American archæology, has recently called my attention to two sentences in my review of Mr. Fowke's *Archæological History of Ohio*, published in the *American Anthropologist* (volume IV, No. 3), which might be regarded by some as evidence that European objects were found in the Hopewell mounds of Ohio. If any one so construes these sentences, he gives to them an interpretation exactly the opposite of that which I wish to convey.

When the land on which the Hopewell group of mounds is situated was cleared, about the year 1800, it was covered with a heavy forest growth of oak, walnut, etc., but on the upper one of the two terraces of the enclosure the growth was largely of oak. Evidence based on the age of timber is very unsatisfactory, and one cannot say with certainty whether the largest trees growing from the mounds were two hundred or four hundred years of age. The fields have been cultivated for many years, and the height of each tumulus has been reduced and the diameter greatly extended. Our best evidence as to the antiquity of the mounds, therefore, is obtained from the excavations. These evidences are:

First. Five or six of the mounds contain peculiarly shaped altars of burnt clay. These are confined to Southern Ohio and are not mentioned by the earliest travelers who witnessed the

* The above article appeared in *American Anthropologist* (n. s.), Vol. 5, January, March, 1903. — E. O. R.

Southern Indians building mounds. The altars here referred to are those of the type described by Squier and Davis and in my own writings, and not those formed of blocks of wood, squares of stone, and similar structures.

Second. The presence of chalcedony from Flint Ridge. So far as can be ascertained the Flint Ridge material was not used in historic times.

Third. Substances not native to Ohio. In reviewing Mr. Fowke's book I used the term "foreign" in allusion to objects found outside of Ohio; if I had been writing on the United States in general, I should not have employed the word, for in matters of such importance as the antiquity of the Hopewell group, one cannot be too careful in the use of explanatory terms. In no other mounds have so many different substances been found. Without going into detail I may mention as having been unearthed during the Hopewell excavations, copper, mica, obsidian, galena, a fossil, sea-shells, sharks' teeth, and Tennessee flint. Cannel coal, Flint Ridge material, and graphite slate were also found, but these cannot be considered to have come from a distance exceeding eighty or a hundred miles. Excepting the copper, these materials in themselves, whether obtained by barter or by travel, might not be evidences of antiquity, but the copper alone is sufficient to prove the pre-Columbian origin of the Hopewell group. The careful analysis made by Mr. Moore and published some years ago in his "As to Copper from the Mounds of the St. John's River, Florida," showed that copper not only from other mounds but that from the Hopewell group contained a higher percentage of *pure* copper than the European commercial copper of two centuries or more ago. This cannot be gainsaid. The presence of half-hammered nuggets in the Hopewell effigy mound was, to my mind, conclusive evidence. These nuggets do not present the smooth surface of copper beaten with an iron hammer, nor are the forms regular. They have undoubtedly been rudely shaped with stone hammers, showing a process but begun. In June last I visited Wisconsin and was astonished at the amount of drift-copper occurring on the surface between Two Rivers and Princeton, a distance of about one hundred miles. I obtained a hundred and thirty-eight pounds of specimens of varying sizes,

some of which have been partly worked by man. The hammered pieces were larger than those found in the Hopewell group. None of them was cut from European commercial bars; all are from the drift or were mined in the Superior-Michigan region.

Can the advocate of the modern origin of all our mound-groups, in which the highest culture is in evidence, claim that French, Spanish, English, Dutch, or American traders obtained metal carrying a higher percentage of copper than the European copper of the times in which they lived, worked some of it into such strange symbols as the swastika and many cosmic figures and combinations, or into thin sheets; made immense copper axes (one of which weighed nearly thirty-eight pounds), and long bar-shaped objects of solid copper weighing from ten to thirty pounds, such as have been found in Wisconsin; and after doing this skillful work have hammered with stones some ill-shaped nuggets and traded these masses of varying forms, representing many stages of workmanship, to the natives to be placed by them in the mounds? Is there any field evidence of such a contention? Can we logically conceive of an illiterate trader (for not one in a dozen of the early traders could either read or write) knowing aught concerning the swastika or the cosmic symbols? It is well known that traders did carry brass, beads, kettles, and the like into the Indian country; but imagine a trader visiting the Hopewell group with sixty-eight copper axes in his possession ranging from four ounces to thirty-eight pounds in weight! And there is no European or American axe of white man's make of the peculiar form of the Hopewell specimens.

The designs in sheet-copper are so intricate that up to the present no one has been able to correctly interpret them. Professor Putnam and Mr. Willoughby have published a paper on these strange designs which, up to the present time, is the only attempt at explanation that has been made.* To assert that any of the objects found during the Hopewell explorations are of European origin, or that the art products of these mounds were inspired by a knowledge of the white man's methods, is to assume

* "Symbolism in Ancient American Art," *Proceedings of the A. A. A. S.*, 1896.

a position, it appears to me, directly contrary to that which the facts warrant.

There is another strange argument in favor of the pre-Columbian origin of the copper objects from the Ohio mounds. La Salle's chroniclers are silent in regard to the Lower Scioto region, and it is not probable that any explorer or trader visited the Ohio valley prior to La Salle's time. If the villages of this section had been occupied by the Indians in 1669, when La Salle conversed with the Shawnee prisoner, he surely would have mentioned them.

Let us consider the field evidence again. An inspection of the village sites on the Scioto and its tributaries, where the Shawnees lived for so long, reveals very little village refuse. Save at Frankfort (in Ross county, six miles from Hopewell), there are no mounds or other works near the village sites. Now, curiously enough, the Frankfort site (Chillicothe-on-Paint*) was to the east, and extended over the edge of a fortification of pre-Columbian character. There were four mounds in or near the enclosure, and it is well known that the Shawnees did not use them, and in these mounds we found the usual Lower Scioto copper objects, etc., when we opened them in 1888 and 1889.

The Shawnees buried their dead in trenches and graves in the eastern part of the town, and as these graves have frequently been opened, an excellent opportunity has been afforded of contrasting the modern with the pre-Columbian mortuary accompaniment. In these trenches and graves glass beads, brass kettles, and iron knives have been found with the human remains; in the mounds there were two small altars, pyrula shells, pipes, etc.; but in the graves no pyrula shells, no monitor pipes, no copper, no slate ornaments were found.

On the known historic sites in Southern Ohio so little is found that, were it not for our records of Logan, or Tecumseh, or Cornstalk, we would be inclined to conclude that roving hunters incapable of producing men of ability lived there. The great Illinois sites mentioned by La Salle are covered with the usual village debris of bone, shell, stone, and clay, but not in such

* Chillicothe means "Place of residence," There were several towns bearing the name — Old, Upper, Lower, etc.

quantity as at Madisonville, at Two Rivers (Wisconsin), or at Highbys and other points on the Scioto. These Scioto sites not only display evidence of long occupancy by a few people or of a large population for a limited period, but they are surrounded by or are in combination with great enclosures or mound-groups. In them the art is not confined to the scanty scrapers, rude hammers, and knives or axes of the Shawnee and Illinois sites. On the contrary, the art is the best found east of the Pueblo country. If these tribes were living when Sir John Hawkins' men passed through the middle of the continent, about the year 1570, on their way from Nicaragua to Cape Breton, supposing that the sailors traversed the Ohio valley, they would have left us a glimpse of these Scioto sites. But the book on their wanderings is, of course, silent on the subject. It mentions the Iroquois, but that is about the only tribe we can recognize with certainty.

Dr. Cyrus Thomas has said that the Shawnees came to Ohio in times of antiquity. I do not believe he has determined the date of this move — if he has, I court correction. That their village was alongside one of the earth enclosures, yet totally distinct from it; that the art products of the two are quite dissimilar — one being crude, the other more advanced, — are further evidences, to my mind, of the pre-Columbian origin of the mound-groups and their contents in Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana.

KENTON'S "CHILLICOTHE."

BY T. J. BROWN, WAYNESVILLE, OHIO.

Having been born, and lived most of my life in Greene county, and within easy driving distance of "Old Town," the site of what I learned to designate as "New Chillicothe," and having known, when a boy about 1840, an old Indian fighter who was a participant in the ill-conducted Bowman expedition intended to capture and destroy that village, I read up, very early in life, all the adventures I could find, connected therewith.

As to the advance upon Chillicothe by Bowman's expedition I think it can be safely said, and it is a matter of common tradition, that it crossed the Little Miami, from the west to the east a couple of miles south of Waynesville, a quarter of a mile south of the mouth of Caesar's Creek. Then after reaching a point about three miles north, or rather, up the river from Waynesville, for although the general trend of the river is towards the south, it has many large curves, it bore well to the east to escape a large tract of marshy prairie, opposite Mount Holly, which reached from the river, nearly to the hills, and has not even yet been all drained, then turned westward in the direction of our Chillicothe.

It is not my purpose to give an account of the attempted surprise and its failure—it is well known that the retreat was precipitant, the Indians following and harrassing the Kentuckians for many miles, but Mr. Snodgrass, to whom I have alluded, said, the line of retreat was on the west side of the river, probably crossing the Miami at Indian Ripple, a couple of miles up the river from Bellbrook, on the Upper Bellbrook and Xenia road. The Kentuckians passed between Bellbrook and the river and Mr. Snodgrass said they were attacked very fiercely at a point on the farm on which I was born—long owned by my father. The route designated, was a more direct one to come in touch with the military trail south of Waynesville, than was the line of advance, for be it known, Bowman was in a hurry to get south of the Ohio.

Now as to the identity of the Chillicothe which was the scene of Kenton's running of the gauntlet, I am acquainted with a little incident which bears upon that point. I was acquainted for many of the later years of his life, with John Carman, who was brought by his parents at 2 years of age, to the extreme southwest corner of Greene county, about the year 1802. He told me a few years before his death, now probably ten years ago, that when he married he moved upon a tract of land some miles east of Wilmington and about the year 1830, perhaps a little earlier or later, he saw a man passing his premises who was making very, leisurely progress but was closely scanning the lay of the land and the appearance of the woods, and there was plenty of woodland then. He measured his surroundings in the keenest manner, so much so as to excite Mr. Carman's curiosity, so he accosted him and inquired his object in scrutinizing the land in such a manner, to which the stranger replied, he was Simon Kenton, and that he was following up the line of his retreat when he and his two companions escaped from the Indians. Kenton's first gauntlet was run at Chillicothe, evidently on the Little Miami. The next stage of his captivity brought him to Old Piqua, or Pickaway, he was then taken farther and farther north, running the gauntlet a number of times, and escaped at last, at Detroit, and it seems, tried to keep as far away as possible from the Miami villages, and still maintain as direct a route as safety would allow.

FOWKE'S BOOK AGAIN.

[The following review of Mr. Fowke's volume appears in the *Nation* of December 25, 1902. As it is the policy of the *Nation* to expose defects wherever they exist and to speak well only of that which deserves high praise, its general approval of Mr. Fowke's work is something upon which he is to be congratulated. — E. O. R.]

"Archæological History of Ohio: The Mound Builders and Later Indians. By Gerard Fowke. Published by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. Columbus, 1902.

In Ohio are found the most remarkable of the works attributed to those ancient Americans called the Mound Builders, and here, too, is the field of much that is important and interesting in our later aboriginal history. Probably more nonsense has been written about the Mound Builders than any other people that ever existed, the "Ten Lost Tribes of Israel" not excepted. Fables of "a lost civilization" "geometrical instruments," "a compact civil organization," "myriads of people," "magnificent cities," "an extensive empire," have been rolled from writer to writer, increasing like a snowball as they progressed, until there are many intelligent persons who believe that there dwelt in the Ohio Valley an intellectual and civilized race vastly superior to and totally different from our Red Indians. Hence it is gratifying in the highest degree to have presented in the graphic and attractive manner of the present work the facts as they exist, and the conclusion to which they inevitably lead: "Nothing yet discovered proves for any of the Mound Builders a higher intellectual capacity than is or was, possessed by more than one well-known tribe of American Indians.

To the demonstration of this thesis Mr. Fowke gives two-thirds of his book analyzing, ridiculing and demolishing the reckless statements of many a romancing predecessor, and establishing beyond cavil such points as these: To erect the works required neither great skill, large numbers, nor long time. The artifacts found in the mounds do not in any particular surpass those picked up on the surface and known to be the work of the

recent Indians. In no particular were the Mound Builders in advance of many known tribes. The 'mathematical figures,' except those at Newark, are of the rudest character. The perfect circle at Newark could have been made by any one possessed of the knowledge that a string continues of the same length in whatsoever direction from a center it may be extended. The square at Newark, alone, requires a geometrical operation, but not one of a highly complicated order (and, indeed, a square can be laid out by a formula even simpler than that used by Mr. Fowke). It is distinctly refreshing to find a book so accurate and sane in treatment of this mania-producing subject. Here is, however, no history of the Mound Builders, for this author is no more able than his predecessors to tell us who and when they were, nor why they constructed such extraordinary works. The Indian history of the state where was, as now seems probable, the early home of the Siouans, and perhaps also of the Iroquoians, is ignored; and we pass from the Mound Builders to a brief account of the recent Indians and a long account of their stone implements, including a good description of the famous Flint Ridge, the chief armory of the Indians.

Excellent as this book is, the author's zeal in demolishing venerable fables leads him by mere momentum to overrun his objective, and to belabor quite indiscriminately all his predecessors in the field, both the sensible and the foolish. To those early and industrious Squire and Davis, Mr. Fowke does try, not always with success, to be just; but in exploiting his rather neat vein of sarcasm he treats Messrs. Shaler and Putnam with no more respect than if they were the "silly" Larkin or Hosea of the mighty imagination. When Mr. Fowke reads his own book critically he will discover that he is not infallible himself. Yet, all in all, his is a valuable book, and if properly circulated will do much to substantiate in the popular mind fact for romance concerning our Mound Builders and later Indians. It is a great pity that such excellent matter is not presented in better print and binding. We do not know who prepared the bibliography found in an appendix. His work would have been more valuable had he known that the citation of a book is improved if title, date and name of the author are correctly [fully] given.

PROF. MOORHEAD'S CRITICISM.

[Prof. Warren K. Moorehead was formerly Curator of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. He is now the Curator of the Archæological Museum of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. The following article from his pen appeared in the *Science* for April, 1903.—E. O. R.]

Mr. Fowke's book is not written, so he claims, for scientists or specialists, but to give laymen an idea of the extent and characteristics of the prehistoric remains found within the borders of the state of Ohio. It fulfils its mission and presents in its 760 pages a complete résumé of all the antiquities of the state, and also refers to nearly every publication upon the subject. The work is well done, and as Mr. Fowke compassed a task which required a great deal of time, and would not have been possible to any person who had not studied the Ohio field, as he has, for twenty years, he is deserving of our meed of praise.

But while the above is true, the book itself may not further the study of archæology in the United States. Unfortunately the author is even more than controversial, he is dogmatic, and to most of the writers and authorities on Ohio antiquities, he is unjust. Such a book as this is, evincing years of study in its preparation, may do a deal of harm or an equal amount of good. That is, it may give an erroneous conception of the culture of the mound-building tribes in Ohio. A scientific critic should be infallible. Mr. Fowke is not infallible. Beginning with the year 1803 and coming down to the present, he has resurrected the published opinions of scores of writers, and has held up their theories to ridicule and contempt. But they were the pioneers in American archeology. These men made many mistakes. It would be as logical for one interested in the development of steam navigation to contrast Fulton's steamboat with the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* to the detriment of Fulton, as it is for Mr. Fowke to measure these pioneers by our present standard of knowledge.

The whole tone of the book is that prehistoric man in Ohio is scarcely worthy of study; that nothing new has been learned regarding him; that (p. 148) "Our museums are filling up with material from all sources, and yet, for years, the accumulation

has added nothing in the way of real information to what we already know."

If this is true, why continue work in prehistoric anthropology?

Mr. Fowke does not believe the prehistoric earthworks and mounds required the time in their construction assigned by other investigators, who made many exaggerations. But he presents a rather illogical argument. I have space for only part of it:

"Forty deck hands on a western steamboat, working steadily, will transfer ten thousand bushels of corn from the bank to the vessel in one day. An equal weight of dry earth will make a mound forty feet in diameter and ten feet high" (p. 85). No Indian ever worked as deck hands work. The corn in sacks and usually handled on trucks, is rushed from the deck into the warehouse, the negroes stimulated to run by the curses of the mate. Mr. Fowke places the native, who had no shovels, no trucks, and no inclined planes or board floors on which to move the "dry earth" — even as negroes hustle sacked corn — on a par with the fastest workers of modern times. The field testimony is that the earth for mounds was scooped up in the immediate neighborhood and carried in baskets or skins. This was naturally a slow process, as the natives used stone or shell digging tools.

On page 88 there is a sentence which is calculated to prejudice the author in the eyes of fair-minded men. Mr. MacLean, in one of his books, refers to the Mound Builders as selecting the region between the lakes and the gulf, the reason for which is apparent to any observer. As to this opinion, Mr. Fowke says, "The last quotation is about as sensible as to say that a man displayed great literary inclination by electing to be born in Boston."

He contends that the number of rings in a tree is no evidence as to its age, to all of which we may subscribe. But, unfortunately, he cites all the trees of rapid growth in support of his argument, even bringing in trees of tropical regions, as in Yucatan, where M. Charnay found trees twenty-two years old two feet in diameter. As to the great oaks four or five feet in diameter, found on some of the earthworks, he has nothing to say.

Mr. W. C. Mills's important investigations of the last few years are almost entirely omitted. In many places Squier and

Davis are cited because their measurements are not in accord with those of the author, who ignores the fact that the diameter of an embankment or of a mound may have been enlarged many feet through continuous cultivation. The Hopewell exploration, for example, showed that the Effigy mound was originally much higher and narrower than even in Atwater's time; to-day it is nearly one-half larger and broader than it was found to be in 1891. Applying to this Mr. Fowke's method of reasoning, the structure could never have had the dimensions assigned to it by early observers.

The chapter on Flint Ridge gives an exhaustive account of that famous site. The pages devoted to the manufacture of implements and to the finished products are also, with the exception of a few remarks on ceremonial stones, above criticism. In such descriptions and in field work the author is seen at his best, and the critical student would be unjust did he not accord due praise in these directions. It is only in Mr. Fowke's attitude toward others, in which there is manifest such a spirit of intolerance, that he is open to severe criticism.

His conclusions are that several tribes may have occupied Ohio (p. 470), yet he does not agree with the "long and short heads" theory.

He uses the terms "tribe" and "race" interchangeably throughout his book. He says mound finds and surface finds differ little — a statement not borne out by field testimony. Different sites present varying degrees of culture, and the Turner site where Putnam found so many evidences of a considerable advance in art, and the Hopewell were substances from the Yellowstone, the Gulf and other distinct points, together with beautiful carvings in stone and bone, were exhumed, are classed with sites which evince a very low degree of culture.

No sensible person believes in "civilization of the Mound Builders" or that there was a "race of Mound Builders." But to swing to the other extreme and classify a tribe able to construct the strange "combination-works" of the Lower Scioto with the Pai Utes or the Comanches is manifestly wrong.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XII. No. 3.

E. O. Randall

JULY, 1903.

DAYTON DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

We are in receipt of the Calendar of the Jonathan Dayton Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Dayton, Ohio. The program of the chapter for this centennial year is so admirable that it deserves notice and imitation by other chapters. Beginning with its March meeting and running through to its annual meeting in January, 1904, it has arranged a series of topics pertinent to the Ohio year. The subjects for the chapter's study include: "Antiquities of Ohio;" Serpent and other Mounds, Ancient and other Forts, etc. — "The Indian;" Logan, Tecumseh, Ogontz, the Prophet, Cornstalk — "The Battle of Upper Sandusky;" the Only Battle of the American Revolution fought within the present limits of the State of Ohio (June 4, 1782) — "Wayne's Expedition against the Indians;" (1793-4) — "The Anglo-Saxons;" Characteristics of the first settlers; Conditions leading to the admission of Ohio as a state; — "Memorial Day," with special remembrance of Revolutionary soldiers interred at Dayton Cemetery (May 30) — "Flag Day;" Ohio in War; The War of 1812; War with Mexico; War with Spain (June 14) — "Ohio in the White House;" Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison, McKinley. Meetings are also devoted to Laws of Ohio affecting women and children. The cover of the calendar is embellished with a neat design by the Regent of the Chapter, Mrs. David Gebhart. Beneath the Union Shield and the mottoes *E pluribus unum* and *Imperium in imperio* are respectfully the olive branch as the National symbol and a branch of the Buckeye tree with seventeen leaves, indicating Ohio as the seventeenth state.

The Dayton Daughters are to be commended for their patriotism, national and state. We occasionally receive letters from D. A. R. Chapters, asking for suggestions as to subjects. Surely no more fascinating nor profitable topics for study could be chosen than those pertaining to the early history of Ohio. The events transpiring in the territory subsequently organized into Ohio, are as romantic and important as the collateral ones occurring in the New England Colonies and indeed the pre-state history of Ohio is closely connected with the national evolution that led to the formation and secure establishment of the Union. Another good work of the Dayton Daughters was the offering of prizes to members of the Junior Class, Steele High School (Dayton) for the best essays on

"Wayne's Expedition against the Indians." The awards were made to Irma Shupe, Robert Cowden and Wilbur Conover as first, second and third respectively. The one by Miss Shupe was published in the *Dayton Daily Journal* of May 5th. It is a most scholarly and comprehensive account of that dramatic, dashing campaign by the intrepid Wayne. No campaign in early American history is more thrilling in its character, or more potent in its results. It was really the last campaign of the American Revolution, occurring on Ohio soil, as the first campaign, that of Dunmore in 1774, also took place mainly on Ohio soil. Miss Shupe's narrative has the historic flavor. It could have hardly been better told in the same limitation of space. The standard histories, especially those used in our schools, are woefully deficient in the proper recital or even recognition of the events in the Northwest preliminary to and contemporaneous with the American Revolution. The Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution in Ohio can engage in no better work than the encouragement of our children to study early Ohio history.

HOMES OF OHIO GOVERNORS.

The *Western Christian Advocate*, published in Cincinnati, in its number for April 1, last, has an extended and carefully written article by Mrs. Mary McArthur Tuttle on the "Homes of Ohio's Early Governors." Of the sad fated St. Clair, Mrs. Tuttle says:

"It is a strange fact that a log-cabin or house, if so it might be called, away off in the Alleghany Mountains, 'on the summit of Chestnut Ridge,' should have been the final home from which the gallant St. Clair, Ohio's Territorial Governor, met his last enemy, death. There he had gone to live with a widowed daughter in 1802, and there he spent the remainder of his days. In 1813 the Legislature of Pennsylvania granted him an annuity of \$400; but what was four hundred dollars to his restless, dejected mind? Alas, that his claims were recognized by Congress only a short time before his death, which occurred in 1818. A pension of \$60 a month, and \$2,000 to discharge his claims, must have sounded like a wild dream to his worn-out spirit. His Scotch origin; his University education; his association with the British Army, when with Wolfe at the storming of Quebec and elsewhere he had gained large experience; his Revolutionary distinction at Trenton and Princeton; his presidency of the Continental Congress of 1785; and his appointment by Congress, in 1787, to the governorship of the Territory, naturally led Arthur St. Clair to believe that no such destiny as abject poverty and death in a lone cabin in the Alleghanies, when at the age of eighty-four, would await him. But as early as 1802-3, he had been named out in Ohio, 'an irascible old veteran,' a Federalist, an aristocrat—a man whom the plain people no longer desired to have rule over them."

Mrs. Tuttle is a writer of great merit, being a lady of unusual culture and scholarship. Her husband was the late Prof. Herbert Tuttle, the distinguished historical writer and lecturer at Cornell University. With her husband Mrs. Tuttle spent some years abroad and became proficient as a linguist and an artist. She not only writes in a delightful manner, but wields the artist's brush, both in portraiture and landscape, with equal talent and charm. That she is deeply interested in Ohio history is most natural, for she is the granddaughter of Governor Allen Trimble and the great-granddaughter of Captain James Trimble who participated in the battle of Point Pleasant (1774) and was a captain in the Revolutionary War. Mrs. Tuttle is a resident of Hillsboro, Ohio, which was the home of her illustrious grandfather.

FARRAR'S GROUNDHOG SPEECH.

We have been asked for information concerning Captain Farrar's famous groundhog oration. In reply we reprint the following from the pen of a writer in Cambridge, Ohio, who contributed the readable account to a recent daily publication:

Each groundhog day, whether the sun shines or not, brings back to the citizens of Cambridge, Ohio the old story of how "Groundhog" Farrar got his nickname.

Captain William H. Farrar, at one time a leading lawyer in Eastern Ohio, banker, philanthropist and several times Mayor of Cambridge, was sent to the Legislature back in the seventies by the Republicans of Guernsey County. He was expected to make his mark as a law maker, as he had ability and was an eloquent speaker. The following incident, whatever else he said or did while a member of the lower House, gave him newspaper notoriety from one end of the land to the other:

One of the biennial sessions of the Buckeye Legislature, somewhere around 1884-87, was noted for what it did not do. There seemed to be no leader of either party, and, in fact, there seemed to be no laws needed, few changes in the existing laws and the members, both of the Senate and House of Representatives, were equal to the occasion and loafed most of the time.

One day, while the members of the House were sitting around waiting for some one to 'do something' or move the usual adjournment, Captain Farrar arose and said:

"Mr. Speaker, I have a resolution which I wish to offer and I ask as a personal favor from my colleagues that I be allowed to make some remarks before submitting the measure."

The voice from old Guernsey was like a bolt from a clear sky. Weeks had passed without a set speech on any subject and the eagerness of the members to 'hear something' and to finally get to vote on a

measure was expressed by many of them, and the Speaker himself waived any objection.

Captain Farrar began by setting forth the duty of the members of the body. He told of how each man was violating the trust put in him by his own people. He declared that the state of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Chase, Ewing, Hayes, Tom Corwin and a hundred other brilliant men was being made ridiculous by the House of Representatives, and the people who sent them to the Statehouse were disgusted. He then gave a history of the state in its territorial days; the settlement at Marietta; the admission of Ohio to the Union in 1803; the part the Buckeye State had taken in national politics and what she had done in the War of the Rebellion. By this time he had spoken almost four hours, and as he sat down he asked leave to continue the following day.

Members approached him after his long speech and asked him what his object was. He only informed them that he would not discuss his speech.

The following day found every member in his seat. The newspapers had printed long accounts of the splendid flow of oratory, and this drew a crowd to the galleries. No one knew what the Guernsey member had up his sleeve, but they felt that something was going to happen. The Captain arose promptly, and, picking up his historical talk of the day before, issued forth such a flow of oratory as had seldom been heard in the Capitol. His eloquence caused profound silence, and there were no interruptions from 'the other side.'

The second day's session was brought to an end and the members were as much at sea as on the previous day. There was eloquence, but no argument. What was Farrar driving at? Were the Supreme Court members to be impeached? Was there treason somewhere? No one knew. There was no question brought up which could call forth a denial from his opponents. There was a great mystery, and no one could fathom it.

That night party leaders were summoned from Cincinnati, from Cleveland, Dayton and Toledo. A delegation from Cambridge was hurried to Columbus to find out what was going to happen. Their representative had talked for two days and had not finished!

The third day found a great crowd in the Assembly Hall. The Senate met and immediately adjourned. The members crowded into the House. The galleries were packed almost to suffocation, and Captain Farrar arose.

Several long, uninteresting decisions by the Supreme Court were read; long lists of prices of coal, wool, wheat, etc., were read. War stories were told and sketches were given of illustrious Americans. Weakened by the awful strain and so hoarse he could scarcely speak, he stopped for a moment, then, taking his bill from his inside coat pocket, concluded as follows:

"And now, Mr. Speaker, having covered the points I think necessary, I submit, for an immediate vote of the House, a bill which urges that Groundhog Day be set back from February 2d to January 2d, so that we may have an earlier spring."

THE HEROES OF FORT MEIGS.

We cheerfully publish the circular sent out by the "Wives and Daughters of the Boys in Blue," to the soldiers of the United States, and all others interested, in behalf of the laudable purpose of purchasing and preserving the remains of old Fort Meigs and the graves of the hundreds of heroes who fell in its memorable siege. The circular is self-explanatory and is as follows:

SOLDIERS OF THE UNITED STATES—The Wives and Daughters of the Boys in Blue, a band of patriotic women of the Maumee Valley, are welding with loving hands a chain, with which to encircle round about, and encompass as with a bulwark of safety, the neglected and unmarked graves of 825 United States soldiers, who laid down their lives for the country which has forgotten them. Every link in this chain of honor will be a soldier's tribute.

Soldiers, if the history of the valor of the heroes of Fort Meigs, and the recital of their wrongs, appeals to you, and you desire to assist in reclaiming the historic battlefield, and in preserving the graves of the soldiers from the desecration which threatens them, send your name and address, your regiment and company, together with 10 cents, to the Society of the Wives and Daughters of the Boys in Blue, Perrysburg, Ohio, and become a member of the Fort Meigs Protective League.

This membership fee, although small, will prove to be the nucleus of a fund which will grow to mammoth proportions, and eventually result in the purchase of the fort, and the erection of a monument to its heroes.

FORT MEIGS:—High above the river, it stands in solemn loneliness, although the picturesque city of Maumee lies but a stone's throw beyond, the beautiful village of Perrysburg a mile to the east, and prosperous Toledo scarce ten miles away. As far as the eye can see, in every direction, over hill, over dale, and along the winding river's course, reaches out scenery of unparalleled magnificence, and from its breezy heights can be discerned the battlefields of Fallen Timbers, Fort Miami, and Fort Industry.

Adown the slope, and binding the brow of the hill, long lines of pitiful indentations mark the resting places of the patient sleepers, patient in awaiting justice—the justice of honored recognition, and undisturbed repose. The fort, through pitying nature, is a gem of beauty in rarest setting; through inhuman ingratitude, cupidity, and neglect, it is a spot over which to mourn.

THE HEROES OF FORT MEIGS — "On Fame's eternal camping ground their silent tents are spread." The United States soldiers who lie in unmarked and neglected graves on the battlefield of Fort Meigs, near Perrysburg, Ohio, served under the command of Gen. William Henry Harrison in the War of 1812-13. Many of them were volunteers from the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia and Pennsylvania, who, under the sting and horror of Hull's surrender at Detroit, and the terrible massacre at the River Raisin, rushed to the standard, and farmers, mechanics, clerks, students of law and medicine, all fell into line and offered themselves to the Government to serve under the banner of the brave Harrison.

"I do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America. That I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies whomsoever. That I will obey the orders or the President of the United States, and of the officers appointed over me according to the Rules and Articles of War. So help me God!"

With this oath of service fresh on their lips, without an hour's instruction in their new duties, they hurried away to place themselves across the path of a mighty enemy which threatened the life of the Maumee Valley. Truer men never lived. Braver men never rallied to the defense of home and country. They had courage, and fortitude, and perseverance, beyond power of tongue to tell, or pen to portray. They left wives and children, parents and home. They sundered every tie to march hundreds of miles in the dead of winter, through dense and trackless forests, through mud and ice and storm. They braved the horrors of the Black Swamp; they forded swollen and icy streams; they camped on the snow, and sank exhausted to slumber on the frozen ground. They awoke to partake uncomplainingly of a ration of parched corn washed down with a draught of swamp water, and still, with unwavering courage and silent determination, they pushed onward — ever onward, to victory, but alas! for many, to death.

History reveals the heart-rending sequel; how, decoyed into ambush by the wily Tecumseh, 650 of the 800 men under command of the brave Col. Dudley were surrounded by 2,800 enemies led on by the infamous and bloodthirsty Proctor, and, under the very eyes of Gen. Harrison, all powerless to aid them, and within range of his guns on the fort, were inhumanly slaughtered. Subsequent events proved that this was a victory for our soldiers, but a victory that was dearly bought.

THE GOVERNMENT SELLS FORT MEIGS — In 1817, four years after the battle, and almost before the blood of the slain had dried on the bosom of the hillside which had received their mangled forms, the Government, all unaware of its terrible act of ingratitude, sold Fort Meigs — sold Fort Meigs, with its battlefield, its fortified grounds, its scenes of valor, and its soldiers' graves. Brave hearts lay stilled beneath the turf whose every beat in life was for home, flag, and country — but they were sold.

This most lamentable act of ingratitude and injustice on the part of the Government, unconsciously and unknowingly committed, evoked neither comment nor objection from those who were cognizant of the error, and who should have at once presented the matter to the Government in its true light and protested vigorously against the sacrilege. Nothing was done, and the years sped on. The rains of summer and the snows of winter have fallen on the lonely graves on the hillside for ninety years. Inherited indifference still obtains and those of the heroes whose graves have escaped the ploughshare occupy their narrow beds through toleration only. For them there is no Memorial Day, neither flowers nor tears, neither music nor song; but above them flourishes the fragrant (?) skunk cabbage and the aromatic dogfennel, and the hoof-beats of the festive bovine keep time to the cackle and squawk of fowls, and the somnolent grunt of the unwieldy porker, which, in company with the wily politician, fattens above their graves.

At the present time Fort Meigs, with its burial ground, is in imminent danger of destruction, and were it not for the timely intervention of President Roosevelt, the fortifications would have been razed and the graves ploughed up many months ago. In this connection, the Society avers, in a sense of justice, and with the eternal fitness of according honor to whom honor is due, that of the 28 presidents who have administered since the battle of Fort Meigs the present president alone has investigated the condition of the soldiers' burial ground at the fort, expressed stern disapproval of the neglect apparent there, brought the matter to the attention of the Secretary of War, and caused those interested to be officially notified to either render due respect to their soldier dead, or submit to the alternative of having the bodies removed to a national cemetery.

In view of the fact that after nearly a century of interment, the removal of the 825 soldiers would be well nigh impossible, and would involve many sad and heart-rending scenes, the society appeals to the boys in blue to rally around the lonely graves on the Fort Meigs hillside, to the end that their silent tenants may, through the medium of comrades, be accorded the right so long denied them—the right of recognition and honored repose.

To the soldier, ever responsive to the call of duty or the cry of distress, the society comes, in full confidence that he who endured the hardships and hunger, the want and the wounds of a harassing campaign, will be in full sympathy with their efforts, and will not turn coldly from the silent appeal of the lonely and desolate graves of the heroes of Fort Meigs.

Soldiers, the long, dark night of oblivion which has enveloped the heroes of Fort Meigs will roll away, and "joy cometh with the morn-ing." Over the hills and down the valley from the fort will soon re-echo in clarion tones the sentinel call of "All is well." The soldiers in the silent tents will heed it not; they sleep their last sleep; but their mem-

ory will endure. The myrtle and the ivy will entwine above their resting place, and there will children gather to strew sweet flowers, and place the laurel wreath.

This appeal to the soldiers of the United States is wending its way from Ohio to Maine, from California to the Gulf. The "Wives and Daughters of the Boys in Blue" desire that every United States soldier be accorded the privilege of contributing to the fund for the protection of the graves of the heroes, and thereby of becoming a member of the Fort Meigs Protective League, from which all other than soldiers are barred.

Fifteen thousand dollars only will be required with which to purchase and beautify Fort Meigs and erect thereon a monument to the memory of the soldier dead; hence the contribution of each member of the League is limited to one dollar, and in no instance will a soldier be accredited with the donation of a greater amount. The Fort Meigs Protective League knows neither rank nor title; the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, the noble veteran in his faded coat of blue, the soldier fresh from the field of battle, from China or the far-off Philippines, and the "Drummer Boy of Missionary Ridge," will all stand shoulder to shoulder, and, in harmonious endeavor, seek to accord to the heroes of Fort Meigs the right which so long has been denied them—the right of recognition and honored repose.

Every soldier joining the League will receive honorable mention in Toledo's prominent paper, *The Toledo Daily Bee*, a copy of which, containing name and contribution, will be mailed to each address. *The Fort Meigs Reveille*, a paper to be published in the interests of the fort, will contain the names of members of the League, also the names of the Wives and Daughters of the Boys in Blue, who, with the assistance of soldiers, are endeavoring to "hold the fort."

When the soldiers of the United States become cognizant of the neglect and indignities which have ever been the portion of the men who fought and died at Fort Meigs—whose graves are menaced with the ever present threat of the ploughshare, and above whose silent forms, with ceaseless tread, stalks the horrid spectre of eviction,—when, with awakened sympathies, they respond to the call of the reveille and rally to do honor to their comrades dead—then and not until then can be inscribed above the heroes:

"Soldier, rest! thy warfare o'er,
Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking;
Dream of battlefields no more,
Days of danger, nights of waking."

The officers of this League are: Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, Honorary President; Mrs. M. R. Evans, Vice-President; Mrs. Ellen McMahon Caspers, Secretary; Mrs. Anna M. Labadie, Treasurer.

Subscriptions should be sent to Mrs. Ellen M. Caspers, Perrysburg, Wood Co., Ohio.

OHIO SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

On Saturday, April 18, 1903, the Ohio Society Sons of the American Revolution held its annual meeting at the Great Southern Hotel, Columbus, Ohio. There was a goodly attendance of members from various parts of the state.

The usual reports of officers and committees were heard and in the afternoon the election of officers occurred, resulting in the following: President, Colonel James Kilbourne, Columbus; Vice-Presidents, Isaac F. Mack, Sandusky, W. H. Hunter, Chillicothe, Orlando J. Hodge, Cleveland, Edward Kibler, Newark, and J. E. Betts, Findlay; Secretary, William A. Taylor, Columbus; Treasurer, S. G. Harvey, Toledo; Registrar, Wm. L. Curry, Columbus; Historian, W. H. Hunter, Chillicothe; Chaplain, Rev. Julius W. Atwood, Columbus; Board of Managers, James H. Anderson, Columbus; Robert M. Davidson, Newark; Isaac F. Mack, Sandusky; George M. Wright, Akron; Orlando W. Aldrich, Columbus; Emilius O. Randall, Columbus; James M. Richardson, Cleveland. Executive Committee — James Kilbourne, Columbus; William A. Taylor, Columbus; William L. Curry, Columbus; Moulton Houk, Toledo; William H. Hunter, Chillicothe. Committee on Year Book — Moulton Houk, Toledo; William L. Curry, Columbus; Emilius O. Randall, Columbus. Committee on Bronze Markers — Isaac F. Mack, Sandusky; Moulton Houk, Toledo; William H. Hunter, Chillicothe.

In the evening the local Franklin Chapter S. A. R. gave a reception at the Great Southern to the delegates to the S. A. R. annual meeting and to the local chapter Columbus D. A. R. The reception was a most enjoyable one. Gen. George B. Wright made an address as did also Mrs. Orlando J. Hodge, State Regent Daughters of the American Revolution.

Colonel James Kilbourne on June 30th issued the following letter to the newspapers of the state:

COLUMBUS, OHIO, June 30, 1903.

It is estimated that from 6,000 to 10,000 Revolutionary soldiers lie buried in Ohio. Already the graves of 3,000 have been located and identified. A part of the patriotic work of the National, State and local Chapter Societies of the Sons of the American Revolution, is to place upon the grave of every Revolutionary soldier a practically indestructible bronze marker, in addition to present monuments and markings.

This appeal is to every patriotic citizen of Ohio to report to Col. Wm. L. Curry, State Registrar, Columbus, O., to be entered in the records, the place of burial, names and monumental markings of every Revolutionary soldier in their respective neighborhoods.

Nearly all of these heroes, as well as many buried elsewhere, have living descendants in Ohio, who are eligible to, and should become members of the Society S. A. R. It is no dress parade affair, but a patriotic association to keep alive in the bosom of every American the memory and

works of our Revolutionary ancestors, and imbue the minds of the rising generation of our adopted citizens with a love of liberty and a determination to help uphold it.

Our desire is to add at least 1,000 to the present membership during 1903-1904. Send name and State of your Revolutionary ancestor to Wm. L. Curry as above, and receive blanks and instructions pertaining to membership, and have your names enrolled in the next Year Book, and join us in the patriotic work of the Society.

Membership in the S. A. R. involves but trifling pecuniary outlay. It is designed as the conservator of the history of the Revolutionary struggle, and besides confers a distinguished honor upon the eligibles. It is hoped that all who read this will at once forward the information and inquiries above indicated.

Very respectfully,

JAMES KILBOURNE,
President Ohio Society S. A. R.

OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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COLUMBUS, OHIO:
PRESS OF FRED. J. HEER
1903

THOMAS WORTHINGTON.

BY FRANK THEODORE COLE,

Secretary of "The Old Northwest" Genealogical Society.

About the middle of the seventeenth century two brothers of the ancient Lancashire family of Worthington¹ arrived in Philadelphia, bringing with them some fair amount of property. After some time one of them went to New England and the other, Robert, with his son Robert, a mere lad, went to Maryland, where he bought land, in the neighborhood of Baltimore, and established iron works, which in due time brought him fortune. He then removed to Baltimore.

Robert Jr. grew to manhood, married and had children. In his old age, he lost his wife and, all his children being married, he proposed to take as a second wife, a very young woman. When his children objected, he divided his property into eight or nine shares, kept one for himself, gave the others to his children, married his young wife and moved to Berkeley Co., Virginia, at the mouth of the Opequam Valley, where he bought land, cleared and stocked it, and where in 1731-2 a son was born to him, he being then about seventy years of age. While this boy was still an infant, the father died while returning from a visit to Baltimore. His young widow married again and died at a great age in 1798.

The estate of this child, named Robert, increased greatly in value during his long minority and was still further augmented by his own prudent management.

At an early age he married Margaret Edwards of Prince Edward county. He is represented as sedate and gentle in his manners, yet decided and prompt in action, and a devout Epis-

¹ For the family and personal matters of this article, I have followed, in the main, the Worthington Private Memoir, by Mrs. Sarah Peter, Governor Worthington's daughter. For this rare book — only thirty copies were published — I am indebted to the courtesy of William N. King, Esq., of Columbus, Ohio.

copalian. His time was employed in agriculture and in land speculations. He was a captain of colonial troops in one Indian expedition and, in 1775, raised and equipped largely at his own expense a troop of horse, for service under Washington in Massachusetts. When all was ready he appointed a farewell barbecue at Bath Springs, intending to march the following morning.

That night he died of bilious colic. His wife survived him but a few years. Of his six children, Thomas, born July 16, 1773, the subject of this sketch was the youngest.

The oldest son, Ephraim, was at Princeton College, but leaving on the death of his father, lived at the Manor, married, and died a young man. The eldest daughter, Mary, who married Edward Tiffin, afterwards first Governor of Ohio, died in 1808. The second son, Robert, also settled in Ohio.

Left an orphan in early childhood, Thomas Worthington's early years were spent at the Manor. After his brother's early death, he must have been greatly under the influence of his sister Mary, "a woman of commanding talents and rare piety, to whom he was devotedly attached." From her he probably imbibed the dislike for slavery which induced him at a later date to free the slaves that came to him by inheritance.

At the age of fourteen he chose as guardian Gen. William Darke, a Revolutionary veteran, under whose wise management his property multiplied, and who secured for him such educational advantages as the times allowed.

When nineteen years old he desired to travel and his guardian refusing his consent, he secretly left home with some money, and took passage on a British ship bound to the West Indies, from thence to Northern Europe, and home, a voyage of two years. He was swindled out of his money, and at Glasgow shipped as a sailor, on the same ship and made the voyage up the Baltic and back to Alexandria, having at one time barely escaped the Press Gang, by the determination of his captain. This voyage must have had great influence on his character. The experience of such misfortunes and the determined overcoming of them developed and trained the energy and perseverance for which he was afterwards so noted.

He took possession of his property and busied himself in its care for a year, till in 1796, he joined a party of young men, who started for the Virginia Military District between the Miami and Scioto Rivers in Ohio, to locate the land warrants of their fathers and friends. The party rode to Pittsburg, floated down the Ohio to the Mouth of the Scioto, and made their way thence by a blazed trail to Chillicothe, where they found some twenty houses of the rudest structure. Col. Massie had laid out the town that summer, and Mr. Worthington evidently bought three lots from him at this time.

Soon after his return from this trip he married, December 13, 1796, being then twenty-three years of age, Eleanor Van Swearingen, only daughter of Josiah Van Swearingen, deceased, at the residence of her aunt, Mrs. Shepard, in Berkeley (now Jefferson) county, Virginia. Her mother was Phebe, daughter of James Strode of near Martinsburg, Berkeley county. General Forman, a British officer, who had married a daughter of the Duke of Hamilton, had been sent to the colony on affairs of some moment. His wife and daughter, Annie, accompanied him. The latter became the wife of James Strode and died in 1784, leaving four daughters, the third of whom, Mrs. Van Swearingen, died a few days after her mother. She was followed seven years later by her husband. They left one daughter, Eleanor, and three younger sons. The grandfather Strode cherished great affection for this granddaughter, and on his death, bequeathed to her the mother's share of his estate (excluding her brothers). To this was added the fourth part of her father's estate.

These young people were thus possessed in their united fortunes of large wealth, and were at the same time independent of control. The inbred nobleness of their character permitted them to use their wealth and independence for justice and the good of their fellow men, and their calm Christian faith tempered their acts with mercy, benevolence and self renunciation.

They determined to free the slaves that they had inherited, and as the law of Virginia then required that the manumitted slave be provided with a home they decided to settle them in

Ohio, whose fertile soil Mr. Worthington had seen the previous year.

The land of Gen. Darke, near Chillicothe, was purchased, and with his brother-in-law, Dr. Edward Tiffin, Mr. Worthington set out on May 1, 1797, arriving at Chillicothe on the 17th.

In a letter to his wife he says they found the greatest change from the year before, some hundred houses in the town and probably one hundred and fifty families within a circle of twelve miles, four shops fairly well stocked, and a good class of people as settlers. He determined to move there himself, and during the summer built a house on the block bounded by the present Paint and Walnut streets. This was the first house in the place to have glass in the windows. Dr. Tiffin also built a house that summer and early in the fall they returned to Berkeley, where, November 20, 1797, his first child, Mary, was born.

The winter was spent in preparation and in the latter part of the following March the party started for their new home, Mr. and Mrs. Worthington and child, his brother Robert and his family, Dr. Edward Tiffin and his wife and two younger brothers of Mrs. Worthington.

They took with them plate, china, damask, and other evidences of their wealth; bulbs, roots, flower seeds, shrubs, and domestic animals, and were accompanied by a large company of freedmen whom Mr. Worthington settled on parts of his land, allowing them to purchase a freehold, by gradual payments, if they desired.

They followed the usual route, to Pittsburg by carriage, to the Scioto by flat boats, and through the woods by trail to the new home, where they arrived April 17, 1798. By the help of their followers they were soon comfortably settled, and the gardens bloomed with the familiar flowers. Mr. Worthington was then twenty-five years old.

At the time of his first visit, Chillicothe was in Hamilton county, but on the establishment of Adams county, July 10, 1797 was included therein. At the first session of Court of Quarter Sessions, held at Manchester September 12, he was one of the justices of peace present.

At the sessions of December and March at Adamsville, the Ross county members did not attend, but in June 1798 they again appeared.

Ross county was established the twentieth of the following August.*

In 1796 Mr. Worthington had evidently solicited appointment as Deputy Surveyor General, for in December of that year Rufus Putnam wrote him promising appointment¹ and in February, 1798, he was given a contract to survey the district between the Ohio Company's purchase and the Scioto River. Therefore most of that first summer and fall must have been spent in the woods. He seems to have been appointed a Major of Militia, and in the following year to have been much offended at the appointment by Gov. St. Clair of Samuel Finlay, as Colonel, feeling that he should have received the honor.² In the summer of his arrival he was elected, as was also Dr. Tiffin, to the first Territorial Legislature which met at Cincinnati February 4, 1799, nominated ten candidates for the Legislative Council and adjourned to September 16 following, and finally convened on the 25th. Dr. Tiffin was chosen speaker, Mr. Worthington's name appears on one of the three standing committees and on six of the nineteen special ones.

In the spring of 1800 he was in Philadelphia, at his own expense, urging on Congress, through Mr. Harrison, the Delegate, the subdivision of the surveyed sections of land into half and quarter sections, that the poorer emigrants might be able to purchase. During that summer he erected on Paint Creek the first mills of any consequence in the region, and there May 10, 1800, his second daughter, Sarah was born.

In 1800 a proposition was made to divide the territory, and Mr. Harrison was made chairman of a committee to report a plan.

On February 17, 1800, Governor St. Clair addressed³ him recommending a division into three parts. The first bounded on the west by the Scioto river, with the capital at Marietta. The second bounded on the west by a north and south line from op-

* Evans History of Adams county, pp. 81, 82, 87, 88.

¹ St. Clair Papers, II, 413.

² Do., II, 252.

³ Do., II, 489.



THOMAS WORTHINGTON.

posite the Kentucky river and with Cincinnati as the capital, and the third to the Mississippi river with Vincennes as the capital. As this would delay the formation of the eastern part into a state, Mr. Harrison, in the interests of the state party, reported in favor of the line from the mouth of the Great Miami. The new western division was called Indiana Territory, and Harrison was appointed its governor. William McMillan, of Cincinnati, was elected for Harrison's unexpired term as Delegate, and Paul Fearing, of Marietta, for the new term, December, 1800.

Mr. Worthington was appointed Register of the U. S. Land Office, and in 1801 Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the District northwest of the Ohio River.⁴

The act dividing the Northwest Territory was passed May 7, 1800,⁵ and by its terms — thanks to the activity of Mr. Worthington and others — Chillicothe was made the capital of the Territory of Ohio. There the second session of the first Territorial Legislature met on November 3, and Mr. Harrison's successor was elected.

The damage to Col. Massie's speculations at Manchester, in Adams County, had begun the war of the "Virginia party," so called against the Governor; the question of forming a State began to be discussed,⁶ and papers were circulated protesting against the Governor's reappointment at the expiration of his term in December. Mr. Worthington was one of the committee of three selected to set forth the position of the Legislature on the controversy with the Governor concerning the establishment of Counties and County seats. The Secretary of the Territory favored the Chillicothe or Virginia party, and to forestall any advantage to them the Governor dissolved the Legislature, December 9.

Governor St. Clair was renominated December 22, 1800,⁷ but not confirmed until February 3, 1801,⁸ on account of the opposition of the Chillicothe party. Senator S. T. Mason, of Virginia, writes Mr. Worthington, giving him the news of the confirmation, saying that the charges, though various and some of a serious nature,

⁴ Do., II, 488.

⁵ St. Clair Papers, II. 524-27.

⁶ Do., p. 528.

⁷ Do., p. 529.

were not supported by the memorialists. He also says, "Should your next House of Representatives be of the character you expect, I should suppose they might petition the new President for the removal of the Governor, with effect, and could send proof and documents to support the charges against him."⁴

The second Territorial Legislature met November 26, 1801. Mr. Worthington was on the Committee of Privileges and Elections, and that on Levying a Territorial Land Tax. On December 21 was introduced the act declaring the assent of the Territory to an alteration in the ordinance. The object of this was to make three Territories, with the Scioto as the western boundary of the eastern division. In a letter to Dudley Woolbridge, December 24, 1801, Gov. St. Clair says: "The bill * * * is passed and goes to Mr. Fearing to be laid before Congress. You cannot imagine the agitation it has created among the people here; and a petition to Congress against the measure, formed by a committee of this town, praying that Congress may not consent to it, is in circulation. Mr. Worthington and Mr. Baldwin are appointed to go to Washington to advocate the petition in person." Committees were also sent in favor of the Governor's position.

The introduction of a bill changing the capital from Chillicothe to Cincinnati, and the fact that it would be passed by the union of the Miami Valley Delegates with those from Wayne County (Detroit), and Trumbull County (Cleveland, Warren), caused a riot, in which an attempt to burn the Governor in effigy was suppressed by "the splendid exertion of Mr. Worthington." The next evening the mob invaded the house where the Governor boarded, and "after they were once dispersed one of the most violent returned, and had not Mr. Worthington come in about the same time mischief would have ensued."⁵

In the same letter the Governor says: "Can you not convey to him (President Jefferson) that I have but five enemies in the Territory except some they have misled, and who probably never saw me. These are Worthington, Tiffin, Massie, Darlington and Baldwin."

⁴ Do., p. 531.

⁵ St. Clair's letter to Senator Ross. Do., p. 556.

Worthington and Baldwin proceeded to Washington, and on January 30, 1802, Worthington laid before the President Col. Massie's ten charges against the Governor, "attacking his official and administrative integrity,"² together with an argument of his own in support of them. President Jefferson finally dismissed the charges.

It soon appeared that Congress would not only take no action in support of the Act of the Legislature in reference to the boundaries, but that a little management would bring about an Act enabling the formation of a State. The desire for three Republican votes in the Electoral College after the close election of 1801 made the task comparatively easy, and in spite of the efforts of Mr. Fearing, the Delegate, and of the Federalists, the Act was passed April 30, 1802.

"Congress, at the suggestion of Col. Worthington, had taken care to direct the time of holding an election for Delegates; had arranged the Districts, and proportioned the number of Delegates to each; and had provided that the Constitution so formed should not be submitted to the people for approval. They had also cut off the Detroit District, which was strongly Federal, and joined it to Indiana Territory."³

Worthington returned home in May. In acknowledgment of his services illuminations were made through the Scioto Valley and salutes were fired about his house by his neighbors.

The convention met November 1, 1802, at Chillicothe. All but two of the original opponents of the alteration of the boundaries were members, while of those who had advocated the measure but two or three were successful at the polls.⁴

On November 4 the Governor addressed the convention, and for his criticisms on Congress was removed by the President, with unnecessary insult, November 22, 1802.

They performed this work in twenty-five days. Mr. Worthington was a member of this convention and was "second to none in influence."⁵ On the first day he was appointed chairman of the committee of five on Privileges and Elections, and one of the com-

² Ryan's History of Ohio, p. 57.

³ Wm. Henry Smith, St. Clair Papers, II, 580, Note.

⁴ Chase, p. 31.

⁵ Taylor, Ohio in Congress, p. 24.

mittee of three on Rules. On the second the Committee on Privileges and Elections reported, and Edward Tiffin was elected President. On the third day leave was granted the Governor to address the convention. Mr. Worthington was one of the fifteen who voted "No." He was appointed one of the committee to prepare the preamble and first article of the Constitution; also of that to prepare the second article, on Executive authority; of the third article, on Judiciary; of the sixth, on Duties of Sheriffs, Coroners, etc., and chairman of the Committee on the Fifth Article — Organization of Militia; later, on Committee to Prepare Article Comprehending General Regulations and Provisions of the Constitution, and on one to consider the propositions made by Congress for the acceptance or rejection of the work of the convention.¹

The proceedings and Constitution were approved by Congress February 19, 1803, and Ohio became the seventeenth State.

In 1802 Col. Worthington moved from the town of Chillicothe to his estate of Adena, where a house of hewed logs, filled between the timbers with stones and plaster, had been erected, one and a half stories high. This house stood immediately in front of the present mansion.² Here the three eldest sons were born. The gardens, groves and orchards on this estate excited the admiration of the distinguished visitors who were here entertained. This house was superseded by the mansion now standing, which was first occupied in 1807.

On March 1, 1803, the first Legislature met in Chillicothe, and Worthington was elected one of the two Senators, he being then four months less than thirty years of age. He drew the short term, which ended March 4, 1807.

The first session of the Eighth Congress convened on Monday, October 17, 1803, on the proclamation of President Jefferson. Mr. Worthington was present on the opening of the session, as he was at all of the successive sessions, and on October 21³ presented his first measure, a petition of Harrison and others of Detroit to be set off from Indiana Territory. As chairman of the committee to whom this petition was referred he brought in a bill which in due time (December 6) passed the Senate.

¹ Journal of the Convention, reprinted in House Journal, 1827.

² Private Memoirs, pp. 34-50.

³ History of Congress, 1803-04, p. 16.

When the Senate bill came down it was referred but was lost, yeas 58, nays 59,⁴ in the House.

In December he brought in a bill for the determination of the North-western boundary of the Virginia Military Lands, and to limit the period for locating them. This became a law March 22, 1804.⁵ He voted for the bill for the appropriation to carry out the Louisiana Treaty; for the amendment concerning the election of President and Vice-President; for the repeal of the Bankruptcy Law; for the bill to remove the seat of government from Washington; and for the impeachment of Judge John Pickering¹ and Judge Samuel Chase.

On February 13, 1802, Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in writing to William B. Giles, Chairman of the Committee on admitting the Northwest Territory to the Union, suggested that in return for the waiver by the new State for ten years of the right of taxation of public land sold by Congress, the United States agree to expend one-tenth of the net receipts from such, in building a road from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic, to the Ohio and through the new state. This suggestion with a change to five years exemption from taxation and one-twentieth expenditure was adopted.²

At the second session, December 4, 1805, the first thing on the day after the reading of the President's Message, Mr. Worthington introduced a resolution that a committee be appointed to examine the Act which allowed the people of the Eastern Division of the Northwest Territory to form a State Government, and to report by bill or otherwise. On December 5, Messrs Tracy (Ct.), Anderson (Tenn.), Worthington (O.), Adams (Mass.), and Wright (Md.) were appointed a committee, and on December 28 reported that two per cent. of the proceeds of sale of land, etc., amounting to \$12,652, were available for use, and that by the time the money was needed there would be about \$20,000. They advised a route from Cumberland, Md., to Wheeling, crossing the Monongahela at Brownsville (Redstone).

They also presented a bill to regulate the laying out and making of the road. The bill was passed by the Senate, December 27.

In the House of Representatives, after much debate, the bill at third reading, on May 24, passed by vote of 60 to 50.³

On March 26 the Senate agreed to the amendments and the bill became a law.

On February 2, 1807, President Jefferson reported to the Senate that he had appointed Joseph Kerr of Ohio, Eli Williams of Maryland and Thomas Moore of Maryland, and giving progress of work, etc., etc.⁷

⁴ Do., p. 1043.

⁵ Do., pp. 214, 1209.

¹ History of Congress, p. 631.

² Adams's Writings of Albert Gallatin, p. 76.

³ History of Congress, 1806-09, pp. 16, 22, 42-43, 321, 517, 826.

⁷ History of Congress, p. 51; Searight Hist. of National Road, p. 28 et seq.

This message, with the reports, was referred to Messrs. Worthington, Tracey and Giles (Va.). Mr. Worthington brought in a bill appropriating \$250,000 for the road, which was passed by the Senate February 26, but after being read twice in the House of Representatives, was indefinitely postponed, March 30, 1807,² and as Mr. Worthington went out of office that day his connection with the Cumberland road appropriations ceased.

In this Ninth Congress Mr. Worthington voted for the Administration measures, to suspend trade with St. Domingo, to prohibit importation of certain goods, and in the debate on British Aggression on American Ships made a speech, the only one that I find reported during this term in the Senate.

He brought in a bill for the relief of the Gallipolis Settlers, was chairman of the committee to whom was referred the bill for the division of Indiana Territory; also of a committee to examine and report what alterations or amendments were necessary to the laws for the sale of public lands; also of one to inquire into the expediency of altering the Act of March 3, 1803, relating to the lands allowed for the support of schools in the Virginia Military District of Ohio.³

On November 25, 1806, in writing to President Jefferson, Gallatin said: "Whatever relates to land cannot be too closely watched. Worthington is the only one in the Senate, since Breckenridge left, who understands the subject. He has been perfectly faithful in that respect, trying to relieve as much as possible the purchasers generally from being hard pressed for payment."⁴

The great question of *Canal Navigation* was now to the front and the elaborate schemes of a system along the eastern coast to avoid the dangers of the coasting trade was under discussion. The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal was planned and aid asked from Congress.

Mr. Worthington, on February 25, submitted a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury for a report on the cost, plans, etc., of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal and on the 26th one for a report to the Senate at their next session as to the practicability and probable expense of a turnpike-road throughout the Atlantic States, from Washington northeast and southwest, together with his opinion of route, plans for application of such aid as Government might give, etc.

On the next day, February 28, Mr. Worthington withdrew his resolutions of the 25th and 26th and offered the following, which was adopted by a vote of 22 to 3 on March 3, the last day of his term:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to prepare and report to the Senate at their next session a plan for the application of such means as are within the power of Congress, to the purpose of opening roads and making canals; together with a statement of the undertakings of that nature which, as objects of public improvement, may

² Do., p. 90, 624, 682.

³ Session of 1806-07, pp. 18, 35, 221.

⁴ Writings of A. Gallatin, I, 323.

require and demand the aid of Government; also a statement of the works of the nature mentioned which have been commenced, the progress which has been made in them, and the means and prospect of their being completed, and all such information, as in the opinion of the Secretary, shall be material, in relation to the objects of this resolution.*

He was succeeded in the Senate by his brother-in-law, Gov. Tiffin.

At this time John Quincy Adams in his diary wrote of Worthington: "He is a man of plausible, insinuating address, and of indefatigable activity in the pursuit of his purposes. He has seen something of the world and without much education of any other sort, has acquired a sort of polish in his manners and a kind of worldly wisdom which may perhaps more properly be called cunning."⁶

Mr. Worthington was a man devoted to his family. His correspondence with his wife shows clearly how much the enforced absence caused by public service grieved him and at the same time shows how thoroughly he considered that public service a matter of duty. "Although deeply sensible of the privations entailed upon himself and those most dear to his heart by these unceasing sacrifices for the public good, and often resolved to withdraw himself within the domestic circle, he was unable, to the last, to overcome his instinctive aspirations for the State he loved so well, and was seldom long absent from her service."⁷ His service cost him much in a money point of view and it was only by the careful and efficient management of Mrs. Worthington that his neglected business was kept in hand.

The burdens of the management of the large property, and the exercise of a most generous hospitality, to foreign gentlemen on their travels, Congressmen from the South and West, army officers passing through Ohio, State politicians, Indian chieftains, and personal friends, together with constant demands on his and her benevolence, made her position, in her husband's absence, a very arduous one. Her success as hostess and manager prove her

* History of Congress, 1806-'07, pp. 89, 92, 96. See also Adams's Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, I, 452, 529.

⁶ Adams's Memoirs, I, p. 377.

⁷ Private Memoirs, p. 46.



ELEANOR WORTHINGTON.

ability, and to her is due no small part of the results of her husband's career.

The four years from 1807 to 1811 were spent in the building of and settling in his mansion of Adena and in the care of his affairs. He was Adjutant General of the State 1807-9.

On December 3, 1810, Return J. Meigs, Jr., resigned as Senator to become Governor, and on the 10th Mr. Worthington was elected, on the sixth ballot, by a vote of 35 to 31 for ex-Governor Samuel Huntington, to fill out the term expiring March 4, 1815.

Mr. Worthington's second term covered the third session of the Eleventh, the two sessions of the Twelfth, two, and a part of the third session of the Thirteenth Congress. He appeared and took the oath January 8, 1811, and his resignation was read December 14, 1814.²

During these four years he was unquestionably the authority in the Senate on all questions concerning the Public Domain, being always on the Committee on Public Lands, and most of the time its chairman.³

He introduced the bill for the establishment of the General Land Office, which passed the Senate February 27, and became a law April 24, 1812,⁴ under which law Edward Tiffin was appointed Commissioner.

He was always watchful of the interests of the Cumberland Road, obtaining in the Eleventh Congress, an appropriation of \$30,000, to finish the first section.

He was also on the Committee on Manufactures, and chairman of that on Indian Affairs.⁵

Having always supported the measures of the Democratic party until the question of the declaration of war came before Congress in 1812, he opposed this policy, on the ground of the unprepared condition of the country, and voted against the bill, and against his party.

The following, from a letter to his wife under date of June 7, 1812, shows his mind:

² History of Congress, 1810--11, p. 87, 1814-15, p. 123.

³ Do., 1810-11, pp. 95, 104, 116, 127, 173, 200; 1811-12, pp. 19, 21; 1812-13, pp. 25, 27; 1813-14, p. 21.

⁴ Do., 1811-12, pp. 107, 130, 211.

⁵ History of Congress, 1811-12, pp. 15, 17.

"The measure alluded to in my last (the declaration of war) has been decided. I have done my duty and satisfied my conscience. Thousands of the innocent will suffer, but I have borne my testimony against it, and I thank God, my mind is tranquil. What comfort there is in having done ones duty conscientiously! I care not for popularity and I only desire to know that I have acted for the best. Now that the step is taken I am bound to submit to the will of the majority and use my best exertions to save my country from ruin."^a

This latter determination he carried out and as long as he was in the Senate, he voted with the war party for all of their revenue, military, and economic measures.^b

He paid the penalty for his independence. When the Second Session met, November 2, 1812, while he was not ignored altogether, he was the last of seven chosen on the Committee on Foreign Relations and Military Affairs; the third of five on the Militia, and the chairmanship of the Public Land Committee was given to Mr. Magruder, from the new state of Louisiana.^c

In the Thirteenth Congress, which met May 24, 1813, his unpopularity was more plainly shown. Jeremiah Morrow, the new Senator from Ohio, was placed at the head of the Public Lands Committee with Mr. Worthington as the second member and Mr. Tait, a new Senator from Tennessee, as the other member.^d Although he was one of the few old leaders left, he was placed on no other committee.

His daughter, in the Private Memoir, says that in the early part of this year, in April, during the siege of Fort Meigs, when all Ohio trembled for fear that its fall would bring the savages upon them, he, with his friend Maj. William Oliver disguised as Indians, and guided by a friendly Indian, took a message to the fort, promising supplies of provisions, and that they lurked about till these assurances were thrown into the fort, in a letter wrapped around an arrow.^e

His letters to his wife all express his mortification at the misconduct of the war.^f The disasters and misfortunes of this

^a Private Memoirs, pp. 60-61.

^b History of Congress, 1811-12, pp. 34, 235, 267, 237, 304, 305, 309, 311; 1812-13, pp. 32, 46, 60, 74, 84, 91, 96, 123-33; 1813-14, pp. 47, 54, 58, 65, 71.

^c Do., 1812-13, pp. 18, 25, 57.

^d History of Congress, 1813-14, p. 21.

^e Private Memoirs, p. 62; see also Atwater's Ohio, 1st ed., p. 217.

^f Private Memoirs, p. 63.

summer, so clearly the result of the unreadiness for war, so proved the wisdom of his objections and of his position that he regained the popularity he had lost, and when Congress met again, December 6, 1813, in its Second Session, he stepped to his place in the front rank as a leader, being chosen chairman of the most important committee, that on Military Affairs.¹ The Bills from that committee show his activity in legislation.²

At the Third Session, which met September 19, 1814, he was chosen chairman of the Militia Committee, and on November 8 introduced a bill for a Uniform System of Militia. Nothing was done with it, as he soon after left the Senate.³

During these sessions he was invariably present at the opening of the session, and his name appears as answering most of the calls for ayes and nays. He made but one short speech in favor of a recess of six weeks, in 1812, before the war was declared.⁴ He was emphatically a working member.

It is of interest to notice that he voted for the extension of Robert Fulton's patents;⁵ for the annuity to Gen. St. Clair;⁶ for the Bill to choose Presidential Electors by Districts,⁷ and he supported President Madison in the nomination of Albert Gallatin for Peace Commissioner.

He voted against the publication of the Henry Letters,⁸ and against the licensing of two lotteries in Georgetown.⁹ He reported favorably the bill for a canal around Mason's Island in the Potomac River, just as in his first term, he had favored the early canal projects.¹⁰

On December 20, 1813, he introduced a bill for the establishment of an additional Military Academy, at or near Pittsburg, but this bill was defeated for final passage by a vote of 16 to 17 April 14, 1814.¹¹

¹ History of Congress, 1813-14, p. 545.

² Do., pp. 633, 637, 660, 663, 673, 682, 692, 724, 737, 765.

³ Do., 1814-15, pp. 16, 40.

⁴ Do., 1811-12, p. 214.

⁵ Do., 1811-12, p. 92.

⁶ Do., pp. 223-4, 1420, 1442.

⁷ Do., 1812-13, pp. 90, 91.

⁸ Do., 1813-14, p. 685.

⁹ Do., 1813-14, p. 685.

¹⁰ Do., 1811-12, p. 226, 258.

¹¹ Do., 1813-14, pp. 546, 646, 690.

In the Thirteenth Congress appeared Rufus King, as a Federalist Senator from New York. Mr. Worthington soon formed with him a deep and lasting friendship. How deep is shown by his daughter's quotation of Mr. King's words during his last illness, in 1826: "My child, I wish to send a message through you to your father; tell him that I esteem and love him none the less; that I can never forget the noble sacrifices of his patriotism. No other man could have done what he has done for Ohio; no other ten men would have made the personal sacrifices that he has made for the state."¹²

The Thirteenth General Assembly of Ohio met in Chillicothe on Monday, December 5, 1814, and on the following day, in joint session, they opened and counted the vote for Governor. There were then thirty-eight counties in Ohio, and it appears that Thomas Worthington had carried twenty-nine, with a total vote of 15,879, while Othniel Looker, of Hamilton, had carried nine with a vote of 6,171. There were some remarkable figures. Worthington carried Jefferson county, 1532 to 6; Licking county, 553 to 5; Athens county, 319 to 7; Coshocton county, 248 to 1, and in Washington, Knox and Tuscarawas counties there were no votes against him.

A joint committee was appointed later in the day to wait upon him and announce his election and ascertain when it would be convenient for him to take the oath of office.

On the next day he sent in his resignation as Senator. The committee appointed for the purpose reported that they had waited upon Mr. Worthington, informed him of his election and that he would take the oath of office the following day at eleven o'clock.*

On December 8, the two houses met in the Representatives' chamber, Mr. Worthington was duly installed into the office of Governor and delivered an address, in which he set forth his own motives; called attention to the failure of the peace negotiations at Ghent, and the need for united support of the Government; deprecated the evils of party spirit in its extreme form, saying: "If party division had not greatly affected the energies

¹² Private Memoir, p. 77.

* Journal of Senate, 1815, pp. 11, 12, 3131.

of the nation can any one believe * * * that with a proper management of its affairs, three campaigns would have passed by with so little effect on the enemy." He called attention to the responsibility that lay upon officials and exhorted all to be of good courage.⁴

On December 21 and on December 23, he sent to the Legislature two long messages setting forth in the first, defects in the militia laws and lack or waste of equipment; and in the second, the defenceless condition of the northern frontier, especially against the savages, enclosing a copy of a plan of defense that he had submitted to the Secretary of War when he was last in Washington.

He wished to have organized and equipped five regiments of militia, to be drilled and provided with camp equipage, but to receive no pay or rations unless actually called out, and to be credited with their tours of duty of six months, as soon as equipped. (The militia was then classified and expected to serve in classes for periods of six months each.) The Governor believed that this plan would afford individuals time to prepare for the performance of their duties and would also provide arms, camp equipage, and discipline, and all at small expense.⁵

Bills were introduced to carry out these plans, but were defeated, as were other modified bills of the same nature.⁶

Again, February 13, 1815, the Governor, in a message, called the legislative attention to the matter. It was referred to a committee, but little came of it and the Legislature adjourned on February 16.

In his message to the Fourteenth General Assembly, which convened at Chillicothe on December 4, 1815, Governor Worthington congratulated them on the Peace; offered the acknowledgments of the State to "The brave men who defended the country in its difficulties and dangers;" advised the members "to set an example of piety, and gratitude to God, and industry and moral rectitude' in the discharge of their duties; to develop and call into action the resources of the state; and 'to provide

⁴ Do., pp. 44, 49.

⁵ Journal of the Senate, pp. 96, 111.

⁶ Do., pp. 172, 187, 202, 204, 250-1, 304, 309, 359.



ADENA RESIDENCE OF THOMAS WORTHINGTON.

for future exigencies by the establishment of funds, which may be resorted to in times of difficulty and necessity, and for the education and morals of the present and rising generations;¹ to consider what can be done to improve the judiciary system and to increase the salaries of the Supreme and Circuit Judges.

He makes a long argument for the better use of the so-called "Three percent Fund" (so called from the three percent of the sales of public lands set aside by the government for road-building in Ohio) in the improvement of roads and for better systems and larger tax for highways. He urges a better system for the militia, and especially the purchase of arms and equipment, referring to his message of December 20, 1814. He calls to mind the system of caring for the few paupers among them, reprobates the harsh laws of deportation, and the custom of auctioneering of the care of the poor, and recommends that each county establish "Poor Farms."²

The Senate appointed committees to take into consideration the portions of the message on Roads and Highways; on Education and Morals, and on the Poor. The House appointed on Militia, and a joint committee took up the matter of the Judiciary.³

The Committee on Education and Morals reported that the state was then too poor to legislate on the subject of education, and that the laws then in force were "sufficient to afford all aid to morality, that can be reasonably expected of penal laws."⁴

The Poor Laws were revised and an act passed covering the management by overseers, and another allowing county commissioners to erect and establish county poor houses "when- ever in their opinion such a measure will be proper and ad- vantageous."⁵ The judicial system was reorganized, a fourth Supreme Judge and two additional circuits provided.⁶ The Road laws were revised and unified, but the Governor's sugges- tions as to the Three Per Cent Fund were ignored.⁶ All that could be secured in the matter of the Militia was a resolution

¹ Journal of Senate, pp. 316, 327, 345, 369, 383, 401, 439.

² Do., p. 10 *et seq.*

³ Do., pp. 84-5.

⁴ Laws of 1816, pp. 147, 147.

instructing the Delegation in Congress to favor a uniform militia law.⁵

On the 20th of December, a long message was sent favoring the Bank Taxing policy and enclosing a report of Ralph Osborn, State Auditor, on the subject, and also suggesting some changes in the matter of the sale of a non-resident's land for delinquent taxes. The Governor suggested that a portion of the land should be forfeited and after two years' allowance for redemption, sold at public sale instead of the sale of the whole tract. The legislature did not change the tax law, but did debate over the Bank Tax question during the whole session, finally passing a law on the matter.⁶

At this session the Legislature voted to move the books, papers and money of the State to Columbus, the new buildings being ready.⁷

On December 2, 1816, the Fifteenth General Assembly met in Columbus. The Governor's message, read the next day, congratulated the members on the general peace throughout the world, with the exception of South America, and asserted that those peoples struggling for their liberty were entitled to the best wishes of the people of Ohio. He further said, "Among the objects which claim your particular attention are the Public Schools and the means of improving the minds of the rising generation; the navigable rivers and the public roads of the State." He calls attention to the way in which the navigable rivers are obstructed by dams, and recommends a tax on the lands of the counties through which the rivers run sufficient to render navigation in them more safe and certain. He argues for an increased tax and labor on the roads and a better use of the Three Percent Fund, suggesting the incorporation of turnpike companies, and the subscription to the stock of these by the State to the amount of that fund. (For the year 1817 it was \$60,000.)

⁵ Do., pp. 310, 411.

⁶ Do., p. 223.

⁷ Do., p. 475.

⁸ Do., pp. 73, 147, 153 *et seq.*

⁹ Do., pp. 187, 202, 217, 220, 313, 319.

He refers to the advantages of the site of the new Capital and requests the patience of the members with the present inconveniences.¹

On December 6, 1817, in joint session, the Speaker of the Senate opened and published the returns of votes for Governor.² It appeared that Thomas Worthington had 22,931, James Dunlap 6,295, and Ethen Allen Brown 1,607. He carried all but ten of the forty-three counties. The inaugural took place on the 9th, and Governor Worthington addressed the Legislature, congratulating them on the general comfort and happiness in the state, and the freedom from political asperity. He directs their attention to the Penitentiary Report and to some defects in the criminal law in the matter, especially of the penitentiary sentences for minor offences. He argues for humane treatment of the prisoner and for efforts toward his reform, and recommends that the prisoner receive at the expiration of his sentence the net proceeds of his labor, as such a course would encourage industry and reformation; providing, however, that this privilege should be forfeited on a second conviction.

He also called their attention to the new capitol and grounds.

Some revision was made in the criminal law.³ The matter of the Penitentiary was referred to a committee, and after a recommendation of removal to Zanesville⁴ was finally located where it now stands, ten acres being given by the proprietors of Columbus for that purpose. The next session the matter was again before the Legislature and the Governor submitted plans procured at his own expense from Philadelphia for the structure.⁵

On the last day of the session the senate voted down a resolution to authorize the Governor to improve the public lot (Capitol Square) and report the expense to the next Assembly.⁶

On December 11, a short message was sent in enclosing a letter from DeWitt Clinton, President of the Canal Commissioners of New York, soliciting the attention of the Ohio Legislature to

¹ Senate Journal 1817, pp. 8-12.

² Do., p. 46.

³ Laws of Ohio, Session of 1817, p. 179.

⁴ Senate Journal, 1817, p. 160 *et seq.*

⁵ Do., 1818, p. 60.

⁶ Do., 1817, p. 324.

the plans of New York for a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson, and asking, that, as Ohio would participate in the benefits, she share in the expense. The Governor said:

"I recommend to your consideration the propriety of using such means as you deem proper to ascertain the practicability and expense of the proposed canal. Should the information obtained on these points be satisfactory, it will become the duty of the people of Ohio to give all the aid in their power towards effecting an object in which they are so deeply interested."

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Lucas, Ruggles and Wheeler, was appointed to act with a committee from the House and on January 27, 1817, a joint resolution was passed:

"*Resolved*, That this State will aid as far as its resources will justify in making the contemplated canal * * * in such manner as may be deemed most advisable, when the plan or system which may be adopted by the State of New York may be known; and that his Excellency the Governor be requested to open correspondence * * * in order to ascertain the practicability and probable expense * * * and communicate the same to the General Assembly at their next session."

This session was chiefly devoted to bills for erecting new counties; incorporating banks, turnpikes companies, and towns, and leasing school lands.

The Fifteenth Assembly met December 1, 1817. The next day the Governor in his message said:

(P. 11.) "First, as I consider it most important, I recommend to your particular attention the *education* of the rising generation. * * * We have received from the United States means to a very considerable extent, which if rightly used would go a great way towards the general diffusion of knowledge. To bring these means, with others, into action, to devise, organize and put in practice a system of education * * * would be the most pleasing duty you could perform. The propriety of the measures proposed and the means of effecting it are the subjects which should be examined. * * * That we possess the means, if earnestly disposed of to effect the object, I have no doubt. It is true it must be a work of time, hence the necessity of commencing it. The great difficulty of procuring teachers whose moral character and other qualifications fit them to enlighten the minds and shape the morals of the rising generation, even when suitable compensation can be made, is

* Senate Journal, 1817, p. 67.

* Do., p. 212.

evident. * * * With a view to effecting this object (providing suitable teachers) I recommend to the Assembly the propriety of establishing at the seat of government a free school, at which shall be taught the different branches of an English education at the expense of the State to such number of boys, children of parents unable to educate them, and no others, as the legislature may deem proper. That whenever young men thus educated, shall become qualified for that purpose, they shall, when proper salaries are furnished them, have the preference of employment in the public schools of the State, and shall be obliged to serve as teachers of the schools until they are twenty-one years of age, and afterwards so long as they conduct themselves well, have the preference of employment."

He again calls their attention to the public roads, laments the waste and lack of responsibility, again recommends his plan for the investment of the Three percent Fund¹ in the stock of turnpike roads.

He argues for the encouragement of domestic manufactures and urges the propriety of their setting the example to their constituents by the use of the manufactured articles of the state.

He notes that in the fifteen years of life under the constitution the population has increased from 80,000 to over 500,000, and the counties from nine to forty-eight, and that some provisions of the constitution well calculated for a small population have become burdensome for a large one, making necessary a useless taxation.

He believes that shortly many provisions will be impossible of execution and that by a change of provisions, fully one-half the expense can be saved and government better administered, therefore he advises the necessary steps for such alterations as may be necessary.

He states that from the contingent fund voted January 28, 1817, he has secured the articles there directed and has also purchased a small but valuable collection of books which are intended as the commencement of a library for the state. "In the performance of this act," he says, "I was guided by what I conceived the best interests of the state by placing within reach of the representatives of the people such information as will aid them in the discharge of the important duties they are to per-

¹ Senate Journal, 1818, p. 1.

form." On the 6th, the Governor sent to the Senate a list of the books and a copy of the rules and regulations adopted by him till the Legislature should see fit to change them. In his report of the contingent fund² it appears that the books cost \$945.67. On January 17, 1818, Gustavus Swan, the member for Franklin county, offered a resolution³ that the General Assembly accept the library purchased by the Governor and that a joint committee be appointed to adopt rules and regulations. His resolution was passed by the House and on the same day by the Senate.⁴ The report of this committee was adopted on the 29th.⁵

X A message of December 10⁶ placed before the Assembly what information had been obtained relative to the Erie Canal and terms of settlement with the proprietors of Columbus; urged the reform of laws regarding commitments for slight offences to the Penitentiary; recommended purchase of books of field exercises for the Infantry and the alteration of the Militia law in such way as to improve the efficiency of officers, specifying six changes; referred to the fact that the N. W. boundary had been surveyed, and enclosed report of the Auditor with suggestions as to alterations in the revenue laws.

On January 10,⁷ in giving notice of appointments made during recess, and of resignations he directs attention to the N. W. corner of the state, to which the Indian title has been extinguished, and urges the Assembly to divide it into sixteen counties twenty-four miles square and petition Congress to donate one section near the center of each for a county seat, one-half the land to be sold for county buildings and one-half for schools. On this a committee was appointed, who on the 17th reported⁸ in favor of the plan, but as that the ratification of the treaty was not yet reported, it would be indelicate to memorialize Congress, and they recommended that the next Assembly take up the matter. This passed the Senate January 22.⁹

² Senate Journal, 1818, p. 132.

³ House Journal, 1818, p. 288.

⁴ Senate Journal, 1818, p. 203.

⁵ Laws of Ohio, 1818, p. 199.

⁶ Do., p. 53.

⁷ Do., p. 168.

⁸ Laws of Ohio, 1817, p. 199.

⁹ Do., p. 246.

In transmitting to the Assembly a list of Jeremy Bentham's works presented to the State through J. Q. Adams, late Minister to England, he takes the opportunity (Jan. 20),⁷ to inform his fellow-citizens that he does not desire to be a candidate for Governor at the next election, and says,

"I have deemed this early notice proper, in order to give the good people of Ohio full time to select a successor,—on the present occasion I should do injustice to you, to them, my successor, or to my own sense of propriety, if I did not frankly express the opinions which I have formed from holding the office for the last three years.

"The extraordinary increase of population in the state has increased in the same proportion the duties of the office of Governor and makes it necessary he should spend much of his time at the seat of Government, indeed I have no hesitation in saying, the interests of the state would be promoted by his residence there. If the example of the oldest and most experienced states of the Union, who have found it necessary to make provision for the residence of the executive at the seat of Government is to have any weight, the propriety of such a measure will be admitted.

"Considering the increased duties of the Governor of Ohio and that the situation in which he is placed necessarily involves him in expenses which if avoided would subject him to general censure and if incurred will not be justified by the compensation now allowed, I feel it my duty to recommend earnestly, to your consideration the propriety of making such suitable provision for the next governor of the state as you may deem right and proper.

On the 28th, the House and Senate passed a vote of thanks to the Governor.⁸

The session was almost entirely occupied with legislation concerning the erection of new counties and little heed was paid to the Governor's suggestions. A bill for the management of the schools was introduced in the Senate, discussed and recommitted.⁹ A Committee on Roads was appointed which brought in a bill that passed the Senate¹⁰ on January 15, but it did not become a law. On the matter of manufactures, the appointed committee reported a resolution advising the succeeding legislators to appear in clothing of domestic manufacture, but nothing of importance was done.

⁷ Do., p. 233.

⁸ Laws of Ohio, p. 296.

⁹ Do., pp. 65, 69, 80, 83, 87.

¹⁰ Do., pp. 32, 52, 167, 190-1.

The Seventeenth Assembly met December 7, 1818, and on that afternoon the annual message was received and read, beginning as follows:⁴

"Among the measures which I have heretofore recommended to the Legislature for their consideration, and on which they have not acted, a good plan for the education of the rising generation has been considered first in importance. Time, and further reflection have confirmed me in the opinions I have communicated; and from a sense of duty to the state, I must again recommend the subject to your attention."

He argues the matter for a page or so very forcibly, saying:

"I am fully convinced, it is the duty of the Legislature to adopt, with as little delay as possible, a system for the establishment of elementary schools throughout the state."

He further says:

"Next to a well regulated system of education the internal improvements of the state require the attention of the Legislature, especially the navigable streams and public highways."

He refers then to his former communications with the added reference to the increasing population, and lays before them a copy of a letter and map sent by him to the Secretary of the Treasury, concerning public roads in Ohio.

He says also:

"The disordered state of the paper currency of the country will claim your attention. The people of the state look to you for such remedy as may be within your power. The obstacles * * * cannot be disguised, indeed I fear it may be found impracticable to answer public expectation." He also says: "The Agriculture and Manufactures of the state are objects at all times worthy of the attention of the General Assembly, under the present circumstances they are especially so. A proper attention to the roads and navigable streams are the best means of promoting the former. * * * I feel fully satisfied by setting an example yourselves in using domestic apparel * * * much can be done."

"The act to authorize the establishment of Poor Houses, leaves it discretionary with the Commissioners to purchase land on which to erect a poor house. The advantage to every county from purchasing lands before the price becomes advanced, and by maintaining the poor in houses erected for that purpose are so evident as in my opinion to make it the

⁴ House Journal, 1818, p. 35; Senate Journal, p. 107.

duty of the commissioners to purchase lands with the least delay. The present mode of maintaining the poor, besides the extraordinary expense it incurs, is not calculated to ensure them even humane treatment. Put off to the highest bidder, their food, raiment and treatment must be proportionately wretched. I recommend that the act be so amended as to effect the objects just stated."

The Governor states that the United States Government had charged against Ohio nearly 1,200 stands of arms. Knowing that this was a wrong accounting, he says that he gathered all receipts and vouchers possible and went to Washington for the purpose of closing this account.

He shows that this has been effected on just and liberal principles and that the state is entitled to \$100,000 worth of arms, which will be sent on as soon as a proper place is prepared for them, and recommends a State Arsenal at Columbus.

He states that since the last session he has attended as many of the musters of the officers of the militia as possible, and feels great satisfaction with the disposition of the officers of the fourteen brigades reviewed.

He refers to his message of January 10 in regard to the part of the state lately secured by treaty from the Indians, and encloses maps of the survey of the Michigan line. The following is worthy of notice:

"I can not close this communication without calling your attention to one other subject, which I sincerely hope you will take into serious consideration and make such provisions as the case requires. *The immoderate use of ardent spirits* is productive of much evil in society. I remind you, etc., etc. * * * Nothing aids more in the practice of this vice, than what are usually called tippling houses, or dram shops. I have no doubt the putting down of such houses would have the best effects as they are really nuisances in society."

He closes with an exhortation to maintain the principles of republicanism established by the founders, and an expression of his feelings on parting with many with whom he had long been associated in public life.

In his letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, referred to above, he urges¹ the extension of the National Road west from

¹ House Journal, 1819, p. 20.

¹ House Journal, 1819, p. 35.

Wheeling, through Columbus to St. Louis, stating that it then took the mail forty days from Washington to St. Louis, but on a well constructed road it could be done in eighteen days at most. He asks aid for a road from Washington, Pa., through Steubenville to the mouth of the Cuyahoga river; from Zanesville to Maysville or Limestone, Ky. (the old Zane Trail); from Portsmouth *via* Columbus to Sandusky, and from Cincinnati to the Miami of Lake Erie (the Maumee).

X He describes the navigable rivers and shows that the Big Miami and St. Marys branch of the Miami of the lakes might be connected by canal, and that other connections at head waters might be made, with only a short portage.

On the 8th, the Assembly canvassed the returns for Governor and found that Ethan Allen Brown had 30,194 votes and James Dunlap 8,075³ and a resolution was passed that the Speaker of the Senate write Mr. Brown informing him of his election and requesting his attendance to enter upon his duties.

Committees were appointed on those parts of the message relating to intemperance⁴ and salaries, a joint committee on paper currency, a committee on a State Arsenal, and one on the Revenue System;⁵ on Education;⁶ on Manufactures.⁷

On December 11, a short message was sent⁷ stating that during the summer of 1817 he had gone to Washington, Philadelphia and New York to settle the accounts for arms with the United States; obtained information relative to the State Prison; purchased books for the library, in which journeys the state incurred no expense; that on a second journey to Washington, in February, when the final settlement for arms was accomplished, he had charged his expenses to the contingent fund, of which he enclosed an account; that he had allowed the Adjutant General traveling expenses for reviewing the militia, but nothing for his services.

He also reported in a separate message that Ethan Allen Brown had resigned as one of the Judges of the Supreme Court,

³ Do., pp. 38, 70.

⁴ Do., pp. 63-66, 74.

⁵ Do., pp. 67, 72.

⁶ Do., p. 72.

⁷ Do., p. 67.

and on that afternoon the Governor elect appeared, took the oath and delivered his inaugural.⁷

The Legislature soon passed an act to regulate taverns,⁸ providing that taverns should be established only on petition; should pay a license fee; should not give credit for liquor above the amount of fifty cents, and should never recover more than fifty cents for liquor in a suit at law; that no Justice's Court should be held at a tavern; that allowing drunkenness, or reveling, should be punished by a fine of \$50 and a four months suspension of license, and providing a fine of \$20 for selling without a license. This was the only special recommendation of Governor Worthington's enacted into law at this session, but the Senate⁹ passed a resolution recommending electors to vote for or against a constitutional convention, which the House agreed to; and the Senate Committee on Poor reported a plan for caring for the poor of the state, somewhat similar to the present plan for the care of the insane, but the bill finally passed made no changes in the system.¹

The Joint Committee on Education reported and the House agreed to the report January 29, but the Senate postponed the whole matter till the following December.²

Within a month after his leaving the Governor's chair, an election was held of a successor to Jeremiah Morrow as U. S. Senator. Gov. Worthington was the logical candidate of the Republicans, being by far their ablest and most influential man, but the factions of the party were at work against him, and united on Col. William A. Trimble of Hillsboro, who represented that section in the State Senate, and whose only qualification for the office was that he had been frightfully wounded in the battle of Fort Erie a few years before.

Col. Trimble died in office in December, 1821, and in the struggle for the vacancy the opponents of Mr. Worthington united on Governor Ethan Allen Brown and won by one vote. The following are the records of the contest.³

⁷ Do., p. 75.

⁸ Session Laws, 1819, p. 11.

⁹ House Journal, 1819, pp. 188, 142; Senate Journal, 1819, p. 139.

¹ Do., p. 230.

² Senate Journal, 1819, p. 372.

³ Taylor, Ohio in Congress, p. 100.

JANUARY 30, 1819.

	1st Ballot.	2d.	3d.	4th.
William A. Trimble (Rep.).....	25	29	34	48
Thomas Worthington (Rep.).....	31	36	38	25
Robert Lucas (Rep.).....	16	3	1	0
John Hamm (Fed.).....	19	22	18	18

JANUARY 3, 1822.

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.	8th.	9th.
Ethan A. Brown (Rep.)...	26	30	32	35	38	39	48	49	51
Thomas Worthington (Rep.)	32	33	35	36	38	46	47	49	50
John McLean (Fed.).....	22	24	25	26	25	16	0	0	0
Scattering	20'	13	9	4	0	0	6	3	0

Although in December, 1824, at the expiration of Mr. Brown's term some twenty of Mr. Worthington's friends cast a complimentary vote for him in the contest that ended in the election of William Henry Harrison, this may be considered the end of his efforts for office. The reason for his defeat is to be found in the sentiment that we now call Populist.

From 1817 to 1823 Ohio was suffering from the curse of a depreciated currency. Farm produce brought very little money, and that little was paper. The sufferers laid all blame at the door of the banks. Mr. Worthington was a bank director and a man of wealth, and was probably called a "Gold Bug" and an aristocrat.

Then, too, sectional jealousy probably played a part, and other sections of the state thought Chillicothe had "had enough."

The result was that the only Republican who could have wielded any influence for Ohio in the National Senate was left at home, and first an invalid "old soldier" and secondly a respectable jurist of strictly local reputation was sent to cast the party vote on party questions.

In 1818-19 the farmers of the Scioto Valley discussed the formation of an agricultural society, and on February 13, 1819, at an adjourned meeting at Watson's tavern in Chillicothe, George Renick chairman, and Edward King secretary, Mr. Worthington from the committee appointed to prepare a constitution, made a report of one, which was adopted with some amendments and officers were elected: President, Thomas Worthington; Vice

President, George Renick; Secretary, Edward King, and nine Directors, among them David B. McComb, the Governor's son-in-law, who was then carrying on the woolen mills on Paint Creek, and a wool and woolen store in Chillicothe.

The society advertised a list of premiums and held a fair on November 3 with much success. Most of the cattle prizes were taken by the various Renicks, but one first prize went to the Governor's herd.¹

Governor Worthington's recommendations to the Legislature in the matters of a constitutional convention, of education and of the canals, were of great interest to him. The convention question was submitted to the people in 1819,² and defeated, evidently from a fear that a convention might change the right of suffrage and might alter the provisions in regard to slavery. The Committee on Education reported to the House January 29, 1819, but the Senate indefinitely postponed the matter.³ The canal bills met the same fate.⁴ In view of these failures, he offered himself as a candidate to the House from Ross County, was elected and served in the Twentieth and Twenty-first General Assemblies, 1821-23. In both sessions he was on the Committee of Privileges and Elections, and in both on the Finance Committee, introducing and having charge of the appropriation bills. He tried in each assembly to put through a bill for a constitutional convention, but failed each time.⁵

On December 6, 1821, he was appointed on the committee to^X consider that part of the Governor's Message relating to canals, which committee by Micajah T. Williams, Chairman, reported January 3 with a detailed report and a bill authorizing an examination. This bill became a law January 31, 1822, and appointed Thomas Worthington, Benjamin Tappan, Ethan A. Brown, Alfred Kelley, Jeremiah Morrow, Isaac Minor and E. Buckingham, Jr., commissioners to investigate four routes for a canal and report to the next assembly.⁶ To the next assembly two reports

¹ The *Chillicothe Supporter*, 1819, Feb. 17, 24; Apr. 24; Nov. 16.

² Senate Journal, 1819, p. 189, House Journal, p. 142.

³ Do., 1819, p. 372; do., p. 332.

⁴ House Journal, 1819, pp. 139, 280, 332, 509, 517, 552.

⁵ Do., 1821, pp. 73, 125, 274; do., 1822, pp. 51, 81, 87.

⁶ O. L. 1822, p. 31.

were made by Mr. Worthington,⁷ and a long report by James Geddes, the Engineer.¹ A supplemental bill was passed with great difficulty just at the close of the session, appointing M. T. Williams in place of Morrow; directing the employment of sufficient engineers; directing the commissioners to accept donations of land or money; to ascertain if loans could be made; to appoint two of their number on a per diem of \$2.00 to attend to the surveys and report.² The final laws were passed in 1825.³ During this session Mr. Worthington procured the passage of a law for improving the navigation of the Scioto River, south of the north line of Pickaway county.⁴

His daughter says,⁵ That at the formal opening of work on the canal system, near Newark, July 4, 1825, when DeWitt Clinton of New York, broke the first ground and threw the first shovelful of earth, that the second was removed by Gov. Worthington, who was properly the leading Ohio citizen present. Jeremiah Morrow was then Governor. Mr. Clinton, a few days after the celebration, made a visit to Adena, remaining several days. President Monroe, on his visit in 1819, with Generals Brown, McComb, Cass and others, were guests there.

Mr. Worthington, early in life joined the Masonic Fraternity. Martin's History of Franklin County states that when New England Lodge No. 4 was organized at Worthington, Ohio, June 28, 1808, the officers were installed on that day by him, according to letters for that purpose from the Grand Lodge of the State of Connecticut.

About 1820, financial disaster overtook Mr. Worthington, through the dishonesty of one whom he had too much trusted. Gen. Samuel Finley was appointed Receiver of Public Moneys in the early days, and Mr. Worthington became one of his bondsmen. It was discovered that General Finley was not only a defaulter, but that he had conveyed away his property so as to completely cover it up. Mrs. Peter blames the U. S. District Attor-

⁷ House Journal, 1823, pp. 135, 175, 268.

¹ House Journal, 1823, p. 179.

² 2 O. L. 24 (1823).

³ Rates, *Life of Alfred Kelley*, chap. VI; see also, *Life of M. T. Williams*, Vol. I of *THE QUARTERLY*.

⁴ House Journal, 1823, pp. 152, 266; 2 O. L. 61 (1823).

⁵ Private Memoir, 72.

ney for delay in the loss of this property,* but whosesoever the fault the Worthington estate bore the burden.

To recover from this Mr. Worthington now undertook extensive contracts to supply the Government post at New Orleans, Natchez, St. Louis and Newport, Kentucky. These contracts demanded long trips, when he was not in good health, and taxed his energies to the utmost.

In 1823, the Scioto Valley was visited with a most malignant fever. All the household at Adena were sick, and though none died, Mr. Worthington never recovered from its effects.

In 1825, one of his visits to New Orleans, Mrs. King accompanied him. General La Fayette made his visit to the Southwest then and Gov. Worthington, as a guest of the city, participated in the ovation prepared for the distinguished Frenchman.

In 1826, he was advised to try the waters of Saratoga, and did so, but with little relief, and his sufferings were aggravated by the water. He determined to make a voyage by river to New Orleans, taking only his young son William with him. He sent the boy back by a friend on April 26, 1827, wrote his last letter to his wife, from New Orleans. He says that he "received no benefit from the climate, the sudden changes of which proved most unfavorable. With such weather I have been extremely unwell, having had chills and fever and a severe bilious attack. These afflictions are far short of the mercies bestowed on me; they are far less than I deserve. I most sincerely desire that the Lord's will may be done. I leave here for New York on the 29th and fear I have staid here too long." A stormy voyage of thirty-five days proved disastrous for him. Mr. King's sons received him in New York, wrote to his wife, and sent to West Point for his son Thomas.

He died June 20, 1827, some hours before his wife reached New York. His remains were brought to Ohio, and interred with most marked respect. Delegations were present from all quarters of the state and thousands gathered around the bier and joined the funeral cortege. He was first buried at Adena, but on

* *Private Memoirs*, p. 74.

¹ *Do.*, pp. 75-76.

Mrs. Worthington's death, December 24, 1848, it seemed a suitable occasion to remove the remains to the public cemetery at Chillicothe.¹

Mr. Worthington was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, having probably joined that communion under the influence of the celebrated Francis Asbury, with whom he corresponded, and for whom he named his youngest son. His wife and daughters were members of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

If one considers that this man was the first Ohio Governor to urge free schools for the poor; restriction of the liquor traffic in favor of temperance; the building of a governor's mansion; the granting to the prisoner a portion of the net income of his labor and making the effort to reform instead of punish him; the establishment of a state school for training teachers; the establishment of county infirmaries, and the more humane treatment of the poor; as well as the advocacy of all plans for internal improvement, by roads, water courses and finally by canals) one clearly sees the statesman instead of the politician.

He inherited wealth and he spent it freely with his time and strength, dying at the early age of fifty-four, worn out in the service of the state he helped to found and build to greatness. He was clearly the greatest man of the first generation of Ohio statesmen.

GEORGE CROGHAN.

BY CHARLES RICHARD WILLIAMS, PH. D., LL. D.

[Address delivered at Spiegel Grove, Fremont, O., August 1, 1903, before the George Croghan Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution, on the occasion of the celebration of the ninetieth anniversary of the battle of Ft. Stephenson. Mr. Williams is editor of *The Indianapolis News*. — E. O. R.]

I.

"Happy the country that has no history" is an old, old saying. It falls trippingly on the tongue. It passes current at unquestioned value in the conversation of men. Hardly ever does one stop to doubt its validity or to test its quality. Like most popular proverbs it does assuredly voice a common conviction of men; it does express an accepted opinion. History busies itself most with the great concerns of life; with the emergence and struggle for recognition of new and strange forces, with the clash of system with system, of class with class, with the overthrow of governments and the setting up of new forms of polity, with the disasters of pestilence and earthquake, of drought and flood, and with the horrors and glories, the devastation and triumphs of marching cohorts and of warring hosts. When all these things are absent, when a country's life goes on unquickened by new emotions, unstirred by large events, dull, monotonous, commonplace, it is making no history, and it may indeed be happy in a lifeless and spiritless sort of way. The seasons may give their increase, men may have corn in the bin and cattle in the byre; but if they have no outlook beyond their own contracted horizon, if they have no sense of participation in the larger life that was before they began to be and that shall grow, with their help or without, into "the fuller day," what a poor thing their happiness is!

"Happy the country that has no history." Yes, if you will. But happier far the country whose history is rich, and full and glorious. We live not only in our day and in our deeds. But we live also in the glorious deeds of our worthy ancestors. They

sowed and we reap the harvest; they planted, and we enjoy the shade and the fruitage; they builded and we sit in their seats and bask in the flames on their hearthstones; they fought and we share their laurels. All the great deeds done, the sacrifices made, the blood shed and the treasure spent in the making of this America, "to keep the jewel of Liberty in the family of Free-



MAJOR GEORGE CROGHAN.

dom," give increase of meaning to the words "our country," and make patriotism a more significant and commanding duty. Our country is not just this great expanse of territory, with all its endless variety of scenic charm and climate, of fruitfulness and mineral wealth. It is this, to be sure, but more and better. It is every great name emblazoned on our roster of fame. It is every heroic event that dignifies our annals. It is Washington and Jefferson and Hamilton; it is Lincoln and Grant and Hayes. It is Bunker Hill and Princeton and Yorktown; it is Fort Stephenson and Lake Erie and New Orleans; it is Missionary Ridge and Gettysburg and Appomattox.

II.

The war of 1812 was not a very important war, and not at all, as we can clearly see now, a necessary war. Larger views and wiser statesmanship would doubtless have avoided it. There were grievances, to be sure, that justified the appeal to arms; but no more than had existed for years, and hardly more serious than those suffered from France. But France had been friendly in our Revolutionary struggle, and we could not quite forget that, even though Bonaparte was now France and was seeking to dominate all Europe. And the buffeting of one's kinsfolk, especially if they put on "superior" or patronizing or contemptuous airs, is always hardest to bear. England had never quite recognized that this was really a separate and distinct member of the family of nations. That fact produced increasing bitterness and rage, particularly among the younger men. And they, coming into power at last in the Congress of 1811, soon forced an unwilling president to advise and accept war.

Not only was the president really at heart against the war, but so were his principal advisers and a large majority of the people, especially in the New England states. Moreover the country was utterly unprepared for war. Its navy was insignificant in number of ships. The army was a mere handful of men. Stores and munitions were lacking. Yet the nation at large welcomed the declaration of war and entered upon it with all the gayety of sublime rashness and buoyant inexperience.

For the most part the history of the war is now melancholy and humiliating reading. Indecision, vacillation and incompetency at Washington; inexperience, ignorance, stupidity and even cowardice among the men placed in command in the field; surrender, defeat, massacres, disgrace — that pretty nearly sums up the record of the first few months of the war on land. Bombastic proclamations of what was going to be done. Little attempted, less accomplished. The men in the ranks and the line officers, mostly volunteers or militia, were full of zeal, were eager to fight, were willing to endure endless hardship; but they were without discipline, were ill-equipped, were badly fed or half-starved, and the politicians that led them were neither soldiers nor had the



SPIEGEL GROVE, RESIDENCE OF THE LATE PRESIDENT R. B. HAYES.

making of soldiers in them. Things improved somewhat with the progress of the war. The incompetents in high command on the fighting line were weeded out and real soldiers took their places. But apart from the brilliant work of the little navy, of Perry on Lake Erie, of McDonough on Lake Champlain, of many able captains with cruisers on the ocean, there were not many achievements of the war the story of which sends the blood leaping in pride along your veins. The instances of bravery or fortitude of individuals or of organizations are numerous and thrilling enough, as of course we should expect of American soldiers—hardy frontiersmen in large part—and these give joy and inspiration even while the general narrative of events on land may be filling us, after near a hundred years, with impotent rage at the blundering stupidity or worse of those who tried to direct and to lead.

And yet, badly advised and rash as the war was, disappointing and humiliating as was the conduct of it in so large part, unsatisfactory or reticent as the treaty of peace was on the main issues for which the war was waged, the final effect of the struggle on the nation and the people was doubtless beneficial. It taught the need of trained soldiers, it made the navy popular, it gave the country a standing not before possessed in the opinions of other peoples. Just after the announcement of the treaty of peace, James Monroe, at that time Secretary of War, as well as of State, wrote in an official communication to the Military Committee of the Senate as follows:

"The late war formed an epoch of a peculiar character, highly interesting to the United States. It made trial of the strength and efficiency of our government for such a crisis. It had been said that our Union, and system of government, would not bear such a trial. The result has proved the imputation to be entirely destitute of foundation. The experiment was made under circumstances the most unfavorable to the United States, and the most favorable to the very powerful nation with whom we were engaged. The demonstration is satisfactory that our Union has gained strength, our troops honor, and the nation character, by the contest. * * * By the war we have acquired a character and a rank among other nations which we did not enjoy before." ("Writings of James Monroe," Vol. V, p. 321.)

How accurate Monroe's judgment was, is seen by comparing with it the summing up of the effect of the war by our latest historian, President Woodrow Wilson, who says:

"If the war had done nothing else, however, it had at least made the country quick with the spirit of nationality, and factions were discredited. The War of the Revolution had needed a war for independence to supplement it, as Mr. Franklin had long ago said. Until now, notwithstanding the separation, English statesmen had deemed the United States still in no small degree dependent upon England for their peace and privilege in the world, and America had virtually in their thought accepted a position of dependence. The Federalists had been ashamed of no concession or submission to England, when once their great leaders had fallen silent. This clumsy, foolhardy, hap-hazard war had at any rate broken their temper. The country had regained its self-respect. The government of the Union, moreover, was once more organized for rational action. The party which controlled it had once for all given up the theories which made it conscientiously weak and inefficient upon principle. It was ready now upon occasion to raise armies, impose taxes, avail itself of the services of banks, and serve the country by means which should hold the nation united and self-centered against the world."

For the first year or more of the war the region about the head of Lake Erie and Detroit was the principal center of activity. The disgraceful surrender of Hull at Detroit was followed by disaster after disaster, with little to cheer the American forces until the successful resistance by Harrison of the siege of Fort Meigs in early May, 1813; and there was really not much cause for rejoicing in that when the cost was counted. Then for nearly three months little was done but to maintain and strengthen positions, while Perry was building his little fleet at Erie. General Green Clay was left in command at Ft. Meigs; Harrison was at Fort Seneca waiting for reinforcements. But late in July, Proctor the British commander, again appeared before Ft. Meigs with a force of regulars, militia and Indians and sought to draw Clay into the open. But Clay refused to risk battle, and Proctor sending his savage allies across country went by boat around to the Sandusky river, expecting to reduce Fort Stephenson and to press on up the river to attack Harrison and capture or destroy his stores. But he counted without his host. By great good fortune Ft. Stephenson was held by a young Kentuckian of twenty-two who had the courage to dare and who had the power

to inspire his little detachment of one hundred and sixty men with the same intrepidity that fired his purpose. What he and his determined companions did and how they did it is all a familiar story to you. The courageous defense of Fort Stephenson was the first really brilliant event of the war. Its moral effect on the country was wholly out of proportion to its real significance. It came like a cup of cold spring water to a man long famishing. And when it was followed in a few days by the splendid achievement of Perry and that by Harrison's invasion of Canada and his complete victory in the battle of the Thames, the country was delirious with joy and the war in the Northwest was practically over.

III.

The defense of Fort Stephenson added to America's list of heroes a name that will abide for all time. What we know of him before he met his great opportunity and after that had given his name to history is all too little. But here in brief is his story.

On his paternal side George Croghan came of fighting blood. He belonged to the race of "the Kellys, the Burkes and the Sheas," who always "smell the battle afar off." The first Croghan we hear of in this country was Major George Croghan who was born in Ireland and educated at Dublin University. Just when he came to America we do not know. He established himself near Harrisburg, and was an Indian trader there as early as 1746. He learned the language of the aborigines and won their confidence. He served as a captain in Braddock's expedition in 1755, and in the defense of the western frontier in the following year. The famous Sir William Johnson of New York, who was so efficient in dealing with the natives, and whom George II, had commissioned "Colonel, agent and sole superintendent of the affairs of the Six Nations and other northern Indians," came to recognize Croghan's worth, and made him deputy Indian agent for the Pennsylvania and Ohio Indians. In 1763 Sir William sent him to England to confer with the ministry in regard to some Indian boundary line. He traveled widely through the Indian country of what is now the central west. While on a mission in 1765 to pacify the Illinois Indians he was attacked, wounded

and taken to Vincennes. But he was soon released and accomplished his mission. He was deeply impressed with the great possibilities of this western country and urged upon Sir William Johnson the importance of securing this region to the English colonies. In May, 1766 he fixed his abode near Fort Pitt, using his good offices and influence in pacifying the Indians and conciliating them to British interests. He died about 1782. Thus he lived a busy, useful and public-spirited life. It is altogether probable that his reports regarding the Northwestern country had something to do with impressing George Rogers Clark with its importance.

A nephew of this worthy gentleman was William Croghan, likewise born in Ireland—in 1752.. Just when he came to this country I have been unable to ascertain. Perhaps it was with his uncle when he returned after his official visit to England. At any rate the young man was well established here at the time of the Declaration of Independence. He promptly volunteered his services, becoming a captain of a Virginia company. He served to the end of the war; being when mustered out the senior Major of the Virginia Line. He took part in the battles of the Brandywine, Monmouth and Germantown; and he was with the army that bitter winter at Valley Forge. In 1780 his regiment was ordered south and he was made prisoner at the surrender of Charleston. He was present at Yorktown, when the last great battle of the war was fought, though he could not share in the fighting, as he was on parole. He served for a time on the staff of Baron Steuben, and he was one of the officers present at the Verplanck Mansion on the Hudson in May, 1783, when the Society of the Cincinnati was instituted. Shortly after the war Croghan joined the increasing drift of Virginians across the mountains into the new land of Kentucky and found a home near the Falls of the Ohio.

There, presumably, he won and wed his wife. She too came of valorous stock. Her name was Lucy Clark, daughter of John Clark, recently come to Kentucky from Virginia. She had five brothers, four of whom served in the Revolutionary War. The most distinguished of these was George Rogers Clark to whose great and heroic campaign through the wilderness to Vincennes

we owe the winning of the Northwest Territory. Another brother, William, who was too young to participate in the Revolution, was the Clark who with Captain Lewis made the famous expedition of exploration across the continent. He was appointed in 1813 by President Madison Governor of Missouri Territory.

To William Croghan and his wife Lucy at Locust Grove, Ky., November 15, 1791 was born the boy that was destined to make the family name illustrious. He was christened George, perhaps in memory of the father's uncle, but more likely in honor of the mother's brother whose great and daring achievement had given his name vast renown. We know practically nothing of George Croghan's boyhood. Doubtless it was like that of the ordinary Virginia boy of the period, who was the son of a well-to-do planter, modified by the exigencies of frontier life. His grandfather, John Clark, had large estates in land and owned many slaves. On his death in 1799 it was found that his will named William Croghan as one of the executors of his estate. One clause in the will read as follows:

"Item. I give and bequeath to my son-in-law, William Croghan, and to his heirs and assigns forever, one negro woman named Christian; also all her children together with her future increase, which negroes are now in the possession of said Croghan."

How utterly impossible that sounds to us to-day. We can easily imagine what sort of stories, in the long winter evenings before the blazing fireplace, quickened the lad's pulses or sent him quaking to bed. They were of instances of thrilling derring-do against the Red Coats, or of perilous adventures in the wilderness against savage beasts or still more savage red men. In the logs of his grandfather's house, still standing a few years ago and perhaps now, and doubtless of many another, he could see the bullet marks of Indian marauders. Through the "long, long thoughts" and the happy day dreams of this healthy, handsome frontier boy there could not fail to sound the cruel scream of rifle and the blood stirring blare of battle bugles. Of tales of war and battles, indeed, we are told he never tired, though hours passed in the telling. In his school exercises his selections of speeches were always of a martial cast; while he read with

avidity whatever he could get that told of war. A word in disrespect of Washington would invariably rouse his boyish indignation.

A highly eulogistic article in the *Portfolio* printed in 1815, written by a man that had been a school-fellow of Croghan's, gives us many interesting details of Croghan's boyhood. The lad's favorite sports were shooting and fox-hunting. Often he would start at midnight or shortly after into the forest, alone or with his negro boy attendant, to chase a fox or to seek other game.

He had the regular schooling of the young gentlemen of Virginia of the day, and at seventeen he was ready for college. Thereupon (in 1808) he was sent to Virginia, to the good old college of William and Mary, where two years later he was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The subject of his graduating oration was "Expatriation," a live topic at that time. His purpose now was to become a lawyer; after a course of lectures in law in Virginia he returned to his home and there continued his legal studies; keeping up at the same time his general reading, particularly in history and biography. The *Portfolio* writer tells us that he greatly admired Shakespeare and could recite most of the famous passages. Of Croghan's character this writer says:

"He was remarkable for discretion and steadiness. His opinions, when once formed, were maintained with modest but persevering firmness; and the propriety of his decisions generally justified the spirit in which they were defended. Yet, though rigid to his adherence to principles, and in his estimate of what was right or improper, in cases of minor importance he was all compliance. I never met with a youth who would so cheerfully sacrifice every personal gratification to the wishes or accommodation of his friends. In sickness or disappointment he evinced a degree of patience and fortitude which could not have been exceeded by any veteran in the school of misfortune or philosophy. Were I asked what were the most prominent features of his character (or rather what were the leading dispositions of his mind) at the period of which I am speaking, I would answer, decision and urbanity—the former resulting from the uncommon and estimable qualities of his understanding, the latter, from the concentration of all the sweet 'charities of life,' in his heart."

In another paragraph the same writer adds:

"He is (as his countenance indicates) rather of a serious cast of mind; yet no one admires more a pleasant anecdote or an unaffected sally of wit. With his friends he is affable and free from reserve; his manners are prepossessing; he dislikes ostentation, and was never heard to utter a word in praise of himself."

While this was written by a friend and at a time when the country was ringing with the fame of the young officer — much as it rang with Hobson's fame after that daring feat — there is no reason to doubt its substantial accuracy. The young law student at Louisville in 1811, recently returned from his Virginia college, handsome and debonair, busy with his books and fond of the chase, sound in principle and gentle with his friends, must have been a good man to know and to be with.

But the law was not long to be Croghan's mistress. In the wigwams of Indiana the great chief Tecumseh was stirring the hearts of the redmen against the pioneers. When William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana, learned that the warriors were gathering, he prepared to strike, and there was a call for volunteers. Many young men in Kentucky were quick to respond and among them was young Croghan, who joined Harrison's little army as a private. Before the decisive battle of Tippecanoe his handsome appearance and intelligent discharge of his duties had attracted the attention of the officers and he had been made an aide-de-camp to General Boyd, the second in command. In the battle of Tippecanoe he was so zealous, and displayed such courage, that his fellows said of him he "was born to be a soldier." A cant phrase among the soldiers on the Tippecanoe campaign was "to do a main business." During the battle the young Kentuckian rode from post to post cheering the men and saying: "Now, my brave fellows, now is the time to do a main business." And the result of the battle was such that there is no doubt they did it.

After this taste of campaigning Croghan was eager for the fray when the prospect of war with Great Britain became imminent in the spring of 1812. In spite of his youth, with the recommendations of Generals Harrison and Boyd, he obtained a captaincy in the Seventeenth United States infantry regiment. In August his command was ordered to accompany the detachment

under General Winchester, which marched from Kentucky to the relief of General Hull at Detroit. But Hull's disgraceful surrender on August 15, followed by the increased hostility of the Indians all along the frontier, made a change of plans necessary. General Winchester marched through the wilderness to assist Harrison in the relief of Fort Wayne, and then down the Maumee to Fort Defiance which he occupied late in September. There he was left in command, by General Harrison who had been made Commander of the Northwestern army, while Harrison, returned to the settlements to hurry forward reinforcements and supplies. The garrison suffered greatly from lack of food and was more than once on the point of mutiny. Finally in December, Winchester was ordered to proceed to the Rapids, badly equipped for winter campaigning as his men were. The expedition, in which the troops suffered untold hardship, ended in the disaster and massacre of the River Raisin. But Croghan escaped the fate of others of his regiment by reason of the fact that he was left behind in command of the fort. That he was chosen, after so short a service, for so responsible a post proves that he had already won the confidence of his superior officers. On the march he had shown his quality by the skill with which he selected and protected his camping places.

Hard upon the unfortunate termination of Winchester's movement toward the north, Harrison began the construction of a strong fortress at the Rapids. This was named Ft. Meigs in honor of the Governor of Ohio. Here, some time in the spring of 1813, Croghan joined Harrison. April 28, Proctor appeared with a thousand British regulars and more than that number of Indians under the great chief Tecumseh. He had plenty of artillery and two gunboats; and he sat down to a regular siege. The siege failed after lasting for thirteen days; the cannonading doing little damage to the fort and small hurt to the men behind the ramparts. But for the disaster to Col. Dudley's detachment of General Green Clay's Kentucky brigade, which came to the rescue of the fort, the defense of Ft. Meigs would be an altogether pleasant memory. But somebody blundered or failed to act at the right moment, and 650 out of eight hundred were killed, wounded or taken prisoners. In connection with Colonel Dudley's

attack on the batteries across the river, a sortie was made from the fort led by Colonel Miller. In this sortie Captain Croghan distinguished himself so greatly by the vigor and bravery of his assault on a battery, that General Harrison in his report of the battle gave him special commendation, and shortly after he was promoted to be major.

Then for some weeks Major Croghan was stationed with his battalion at Upper Sandusky, where there were large army stores. From there he was sent in July to take command of Ft. Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky some forty miles down the river, which guarded the approach to Fort Seneca, where Harrison had his headquarters. There were reports that Proctor, who still had control of the lake and was smarting from his failure at Ft. Meigs, was moving again. It was not known where he would strike; not unlikely he would seek to capture or to destroy Harrison's stores. Ft. Stephenson was a small and wretched stockade. The works could scarcely be called a fort. There were a few wooden buildings made of thin boards and a palisade of logs. It had only one gun, a six -pounder. Moreover the fort was not well placed, being commanded by higher ground near by. Croghan proposed to Harrison that he be allowed to change its location, but Harrison refused his consent, on the ground that the enemy was likely to appear before the work could be completed. The weakness and comparative unimportance of the post were such that Harrison's instructions to Croghan were that if the enemy should appear in force he should destroy the fort and stores and promptly retreat to headquarters. But Croghan evidently had no intention of giving up easily. He at once began to strengthen his position and to prepare for any emergency, working day and night. About the stockade he dug a ditch six feet deep and nine feet wide. To the top of the palisades he hoisted heavy logs that could easily be pushed off to fall with crushing force on any of the foe that entered the ditch and attempted to make a breach. All the stores at the post were collected in one building that they might the more easily be destroyed if necessity required. The men prepared an abundant supply of cartridges. Rumors were thick that the Indians were on the warpath and that Proctor who was seeking

to induce General Green Clay to come out of Ft. Meigs and fight in the open, would soon appear. But Croghan and his 160 men were getting ready to give him worthy welcome. In the midst of this activity Croghan wrote to a friend as follows:

"The enemy are not far distant. I expect an attack. I will defend this post to the last extremity. I have just sent away the women and children, with the sick of the garrison, that I may be able to act without incumbrance. Be satisfied: I shall, I hope, do my duty. The example set me by my Revolutionary kindred is before me. Let me die rather than prove unworthy of their name."

That shows conclusively that he had no intention of retreating unless he was forced to do so.

The evening of July 29, General Harrison received word from General Green Clay at Ft. Meigs that Proctor had abandoned his attempt at that point and was likely to attack Fort Stephenson. Thereupon, after taking the advice of a council of officers, Brig.-Generals Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur, Colonels George Paul and James V. Bell and Majors Wood, Hukill, Holmes and Graham, he despatched a messenger to Croghan directing him at once to set fire to the fort and to repair with his command that night to headquarters. If he thought this impracticable he was to "take the road to Huron and pursue it with the utmost circumspection and dispatch." As good luck would have it, the messenger, Mr. Conger, and his two Indian guides lost their way, and instead of reaching Fort Stephenson that night, they did not arrive till the next morning at 10 o'clock. Croghan called his officers together and they agreed with him that the fort ought not to be abandoned. He at once sent the messenger back with the following letter:

"SIR:—I have just received yours of yesterday, 10 o'clock P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place, and by heavens we can."

General Harrison was highly displeased with this letter, especially with the presumption displayed in the last sentence, and immediately he sent Colonel Wells to relieve Croghan and ordered him to repair at once to headquarters. Croghan of

course obeyed; went to Ft. Seneca and spent the night of July 30th there. We have no record of his conversation that night with Harrison, but evidently his explanations were satisfactory, for the next morning he was sent back to Ft. Stephenson to resume command.

Some days after the battle, to combat criticism of General Harrison's course at this time, Croghan wrote a letter in which he explained that the offensive wording of his dispatch to Harrison was adopted so as to deceive the enemy, should it fall into their hands; and that when Harrison's delayed order was received it was thought by him and his officers that "an attempt to retreat in the open day, in the face of a superior force of the enemy, would be more hazardous than to remain in the fort, under all its disadvantages."

But this whole letter reads much like an explanation after the event. At any rate, it is difficult to understand how it would have been hazardous for the little garrison to retreat on July 30, when both that day and the following it seemed to be perfectly easy for messengers and horse to move between Ft. Seneca and the fort. One finds it by no means easy to comprehend also why Harrison did not move forward so as to be able to lend assistance or to cover Croghan's retreat,—especially when the sound of continuous cannonading must have reached his ears. But it may be that he was apprehensive of an attack from Tecumseh's Indians, only a portion of whom had been ordered across country to operate with Proctor.

In the afternoon of August 1, Proctor with 500 regulars and 700 or 800 Indians, accompanied by gunboats, appeared before Ft. Stephenson. Croghan greeted him with a few shots from his single cannon. To the summons to surrender he gave a defiant reply; and Proctor began to bombard the fort. The firing continued through the night, which had no rest for the anxious little garrison. Croghan moved his one gun about from point to point in the hope of deceiving the enemy regarding his equipment. During the night the British planted a battery within 250 yards of the stockade. This opened fire early in the morning of August 2, but with little effect. In the afternoon Croghan noticed that the fire from all the British guns was being concen-

trated on the northwestern angle of the stockade. He inferred that an effort to assault would be made at that point. He therefore directed that his one gun be lifted up into a blockhouse and so placed as to rake the ditch at that point. The port-hole was masked and the gun loaded with a double charge of leaden slugs. Croghan's inference was correct. The enemy attempted to make



SCENE AT THE BATTLE OF FT. STEPHENSON.

the assault about five o'clock under cover of the smoke from the battery. They were within twenty paces of the ditch before they were discovered; when they were checked for a moment by fierce musket firing from the fort. But they were quickly rallied by Colonel Short, who, springing over the outer works into the ditch, commanded his men to follow shouting: "Give the damned

Yankees no quarter." When the ditch was well filled the masked port-hole was opened and the six-pounder was fired into the human mass, only thirty feet away, with apallingly fatal effect; while all the time the muskets of the fort were singing their deadly song. The British were thrown into hopeless confusion; and all that could, fled precipitately. Their loss was something like 150, including Col. Short among the dead. Croghan's loss was one dead and seven slightly wounded. That night Proctor abandoned the field and the campaign and started back to Canada.

Croghan's official report, written three days after the battle, gives a graphic yet modest account of his great victory. The report follows:

LOWER SANDUSKY, Aug. 5, 1813.

"DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to inform you that the combined force of the enemy, amounting to at least 500 regulars and 700 or 800 Indians, under the immediate command of Gen. Proctor, made its appearance before this place early Sunday evening last, and so soon as the general had made such disposition of his troops as would cut off my retreat, should I be disposed to make one, he sent Col. Elliott, accompanied by Major Chambers, with a flag to demand the surrender of the fort, as he was anxious to spare the effusion of blood, which he probably would not have in his power to do should he be reduced to the necessity of taking the place by storm. My answer to the summons was that I was determined to defend the place to the last extremity, and that no force, however large, should induce me to surrender it.

"So soon as the flag had returned, a brisk fire was opened on us from the gunboats in the river, and from a 5½-inch howitzer on shore, which was kept up with little intermission throughout the night. At an early hour next morning, three sixes, which had been placed during the night within 250 yards of the pickets, began playing on us with but little effect. About 4 P. M. discovering the fire from all of his guns was concentrated against the northwestern angle of the fort, I became confident that his object was to make a breach and attempt to storm the works at that point. I therefore ordered as many men as could be employed for the purpose of strengthening that part; which was so effectually secured by means of bags of flour, sand, etc., that the picketing suffered little or no injury. Notwithstanding which, the enemy, about 5 o'clock, having formed into close column, advanced to assault our works at the expected point, at the same time making two feints on the front of Capt. Hunter's lines. The column which advanced against the northwestern angle, consisting of about 350 men, was so completely enveloped in smoke as not to be discovered until it had approached within 15 or 20 paces of the line; but the men, being all at their post

and ready to receive it, commenced so heavy and galling a fire as to throw the column a little into confusion. Being quickly rallied, it advanced to the outer works and began to leap into the ditch. Just at that moment a fire of grape was opened from our 6-pounder, which had been previously arranged so as to rake in that direction, which together with the musketry threw them into such confusion that they were compelled to retreat precipitately to the woods. During the assault, which lasted half an hour, an incessant fire was kept up by the enemy's artillery, which consisted of five sixes, and a howitzer; but without effect. My whole loss during the siege was one killed and seven wounded slightly. The loss of the enemy, in killed and wounded and prisoners, must have been 150. One lieutenant-colonel, one lieutenant, and 50 rank and file were found in and about the ditch, dead or wounded. Those of the remainder who were not able to escape were taken off during the night by the Indians. Seventy stands of arms and several brace of pistols have been collected near the works. About three o'clock in the morning the enemy sailed down the river, leaving behind them a boat containing clothing and considerable military stores.

"Too much praise can not be bestowed upon the officers, the non-commissioned officers and privates under my command for their gallant and good conduct during the siege.

"Yours with respect,

"G. CROGHAN,

"Major Seventeenth U. S. Infantry, Commanding Lower Sandusky.

"MAJOR GENERAL HARRISON,

Commanding Northwestern Army."

General Harrison in his report to the Secretary of War paid high tribute to Croghan's gallantry. Here is the way he describes the bloody work done by the young officer's sole piece of ordnance:

"Their troops were formed into two columns. One led by Lieutenant Colonel Short, headed the principal one. He conducted his men to the brink of the ditch under a galling fire from the garrison, and leaping into it was followed by a considerable number of his own men and the light infantry. At this moment, a masked porthole was suddenly opened, and the 6-pounder, with a half-load of powder and a double charge of leaden slugs, at a distance of thirty feet, poured destruction upon them, and killed or wounded every man who entered the ditch. In vain did the British officers try to lead on the balance of the column. It retired under a shower of shot, and sought safety in the adjoining woods."

The Americans hated Gen. Proctor. His questionable compact with the Indians caused them to look on him as a murderer or

an assassin rather than a soldier. And it is with evident gratification that General Harrison added to his report:

"It will not be among the least of General Proctor's mortifications to know that he has been baffled by a youth who has just passed his twenty-first year. He is, however, a hero worthy of his gallant uncle, General G. R. Clark, and I bless my good fortune in having first introduced this promising shoot of a distinguished family to the notice of the Government."

The defense of Fort Stephenson was hailed as a great victory by the American people, who had had so few events to rejoice over in the conduct of the war. It was a fit prelude to Perry's victory on Lake Erie and Harrison's at the Thames, which followed soon after. The youth of the Commander, his refusal to retreat, the disparity in the number of men engaged on the two sides, the freedom from loss — all combined to give Croghan peculiar fame. All the papers were full of his praise. His name was on all men's tongues, as was Dewey's after Manila. The brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel was conferred upon him. The military committee of Congress recommended a bill providing him a jeweled sword, but the matter fell through before the bill was enacted. The ladies of Chillicothe, however, presented him with a sword, and he received a large number of silken flags from citizens who rejoiced in his patriotism.

Croghan was in active service during the rest of the war, but he did nothing of special significance. In the summer of 1814 he had command of an expedition that made a brave attempt to recapture Michillimackinac, as the island was then called, but the attempt was a failure. He was also engaged in breaking up British posts on Lake Huron. In all his operations he was known for his care of his men. He never allowed his men to camp without first providing a fortification. He also showed remarkable shrewdness in the selection of the camp sites, and never was his command surprised.

Croghan remained in the army after the close of the war, until March 1817 when he resigned. In May, 1816, he married Serena Livingston, daughter of John R. Livingston, of New York, and niece of Chancellor Robert Livingston, famous as jurist and diplomat, who administered the oath of office to Wash-



ington, when he first became President of the United States, and who as Minister to France negotiated with Bonaparte the Louisiana Purchase. Another uncle was Edward Livingston, one of the greatest lawyers of his day, who served his country as Congressman, Senator and Secretary of State under Jackson, whose celebrated Nullification Proclamation he is believed to have written. She was a niece also of the widow of General Montgomery, of Quebec fame.

Of the children of this marriage, one a daughter, Mrs. Mary Croghan Wyatt, still lives in New York, cherishing the memory of her noble sire; another, a son, George St. John, by name, a Confederate officer perished in battle in West Virginia in the first year of the Civil War, regretting, so it is said, that he had espoused the wrong side. In that battle the regiment of Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes took part.

After resigning his commission in the army, Croghan removed to New Orleans, where his wife's uncle, Edward Livingston was one of the most prominent citizens. He was the postmaster of that city in 1824. The following year he turned to the army again and was made Inspector General in the United States army, with the rank of Colonel. Then followed long years of unostentatious service. It is said that he was on one occasion about to be courtmartialled for "intemperance in alcoholic drinks." Colonel Miller, who himself had won distinction in the war of 1812, informed President Jackson of what was going forward. "The old general," we are told, "listened impatiently to the information, but heard it through, and then he laid down his paper, rose from his chair, smote the table with his clenched fist, and, with his proverbial energy, declared: 'Those proceedings of the courtmartial shall be stopped sir, sir! George Croghan shall get drunk every day of his life if he wants to, and by the Eternal the United States shall pay for the whiskey.' This anecdote may not be true but if not it is well invented. It is a good companion to the story that Lincoln asked some preachers who had come to complain that Grant drank whiskey whether they could find out what brand Grant drank. He wanted to send some of the same kind to the other Generals!

In the Mexican war Col. Croghan again took the field. He joined the army on its march to Monterey, and was present at the assault on that place. During the crisis of one of the three days' fighting, when a Tennessee regiment shook under a tremendous concentric fire, Croghan rushed to the front and, taking off his hat, the wind tossing his gray hair, shouted: "Men of Tennessee, your fathers conquered with Jackson at New Orleans — follow me!" The stirring words were received with bursts of cheers, and the troops, reanimated, dashed on to victory.

By an act of Congress, passed February 13, 1835, Croghan was presented with a gold medal "with suitable emblems and



devices, in testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of his gallantry and good conduct in the defense of Fort Stephenson, Ohio."

After the Mexican war, Col. Croghan was again stationed at New Orleans where he died of cholera, January 8, 1849, expiring just as the sound of the last gun fired in celebration of Jackson's victory thirty-four years before, fell upon his ears.

IV.

The world is grudging of fame. Of the many battles fought in the war of 1812, with all their deeds of valor and acts of heroism, how few there are that this generation knows aught of or

cares about! Of all the leaders whose names for the time filled large space in the thought of the country how few that we now recall! The battle of Fort Stephenson was not a great fight; the victory in itself was not of large importance. But the time when it occurred was fortunate; the manner of it was such as to touch the imagination and to thrill the souls of men; and at once the deed and the doer were acclaimed and their fame became sure and lasting. The names of the brave fellows that shared in the noble enterprise have sunk, alas, into

Lethe's dreamless ooze, the common grave,
Of the unventurous throng.

And there is pathos in that fact; but such is the universal law of life.

Whatever 'scaped Oblivion's subtle wrong
Save a few clarion names, or golden threads of song?

The great multitude of us must be content to do the work God gives us to do, unknown and unnoted. Croghan himself never rose again to the height of his one achievement. Perhaps opportunity was lacking; at any rate except for his few days at Fort Stephenson his life was commonplace and uneventful. But what of that? There was that one glorious day in August, in his young manhood when opportunity smiled beckoning, and he greeted her with bold front and ready hand. He illustrated the old, old truth that

One day with life and heart,
Is more than time enough to find a world.

It is not the intrinsic importance of a deed always that gives it value. It is the high and holy quality of the spirit that conceived and directed its execution. And this the world is quick to recognize and appreciate. The race makes few mistakes in the men it honors with enduring memory.

To you of Fremont the memory of Fort Stephenson and the fame of Croghan are a peculiarly glorious heritage. It is a great privilege to live where of old time a great act was once greatly done. No one can pass by the site of the old fort and see the old six-pounder that spoke to such good purpose ninety years ago, and



MONUMENT OF MAJOR CROGHAN IN PUBLIC SQUARE, FREMONT, OHIO.

lift his eyes to the shaft that commemorates the hero of that far-off fight without a quickening of his love of country; without feeling

O Beautiful! my Country! * * *
What words divine of lover or of poet
Could tell our love and make thee know it,
Among the Nations bright beyond compare?
What were our lives without thee?
What all our lives to save thee?
We reck not what we gave thee;
We will not dare to doubt thee,
But ask whatever else, and we will dare!

LOWER SANDUSKY, 25th July, 1813.

General Harrison:

DEAR SIR:—Mr. Connor has just arrived with the Indians which were sent by you to Fort Meigs a few days since. To him I refer you for information from that quarter.

I have unloaded the boats which were brought from Cleveland, and shall sink them in the middle of the river (where it is ten feet deep) about one-half mile above the present landing. My men are engaged in making cartridges and will have in a short time more than sufficient to answer any ordinary call. I have collected all the most valuable stores in one house. Should I be forced to evacuate the place, they will be blown up.

Yours with respect,

G. CROGHAN,
Major Commanding at Lower Sandusky.

GENERAL HARRISON TO MAJOR CROGHAN.

July 29, 1813.

SIR:—Immediately on receiving this letter you will abandon Fort Stephenson, set fire to it and repair with your command this night to headquarters. Cross the river and come up on the opposite side. If you should deem and find it impracticable to make good your march to this place, take the road to Huron and pursue it with the utmost circumspection and dispatch.

MAJOR CROGHAN TO GENERAL HARRISON.

July 30, 1813.

SIR:—I have just received yours of yesterday, 10 o'clock P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place and by Heaven we can.

July 30, 1813.

To Major Croghan:

SIR:—The General has just received your letter of this date informing him that you had thought it proper to disobey the order issued from this office and delivered to you this morning. It appears that the information which dictated this order was incorrect, and as you did not receive it in the night, as was expected, it might have been proper that you should have reported the circumstances and your situation before you proceeded to its execution. This might have been passed over; but I am directed to say to you that an officer who presumes to aver that he has made his resolution and that he will act in direct opposition to the orders of his General, cannot longer be entrusted with a separate command. Colonel Wells is sent to relieve you. You will deliver the command to him and repair with Colonel Ball's squadron to this place.

By command, etc.,

A. H. HOLMES,
Assistant Adjutant General.

LOWER SANDUSKY, 3d Aug., 1813.

General Harrison!

DEAR SIR:—The enemy made an attempt to storm us last evening, but was repulsed with the loss of at least 200 killed, wounded and prisoners. One Lieut.-Colonel (Short), a major and a lieutenant, with about forty privates are dead in the ditch. I have lost but one killed and but few wounded.

Further statements will be made to you by the bearer.

GEORGE CROGHAN,
Major Commanding Fort Sandusky.

P. S.—Since writing the above, two soldiers of the Forty-first Regiment have gotten in who state that the enemy have retreated—in fact, one of their gunboats is within three hundred yards of our works, said to be loaded with camp equipage, etc., which they have in their hurry left.
A true copy.

GEORGE CROGHAN.

JOHN O. FALLEN, *Aide-de-Camp.*

HEADQUARTERS, SENECA TOWN, 4th August, 1813.

SIR:—In my letter of the first instant, I did myself the honor to inform you that one of my scouting parties had just returned from the Lake Shore and had discovered the day before, the enemy in force near the mouth of the Sandusky Bay. The party had not passed Lower Sandusky two hours, before the advance, consisting of the Indians, appeared before the Fort, and in half an hour after a large detachment of British troops; and in the course of the night commenced a cannonading against the fort with three six-pounders and two howitzers, the latter from gun boats. The firing was partially answered by Major George Croghan, having a six-pounder, the only piece of artillery.

The fire of the enemy was continued at intervals during the second instant until about half past five P. M., when finding that their cannons made little impression upon the works and having discovered my position here and fearing an attack, an attempt was made to carry the place by storm. The troops were formed in two columns. Lt.-Col. Short headed the principal one composed of the light and battalion companies of the Forty-first Regiment. This gallant officer conducted his men to the brink of the ditch under the most galling and destructive fire from the garrison and leaping into it was followed by a considerable part of his own and the light company. At this moment a masked port-hole was opened and a six-pounder with an half load of powder and a double charge of leaden slugs at the distance of thirty feet poured destruction upon them and killed or wounded nearly every man who had entered the ditch. In vain did the British officers exert themselves to lead on the balance of the column; it retired in disorder under a shower of shot from the fort and sought safety in the adjoining woods. The other column headed by the grenadiers who had retired after having suffered from the muskets of our men, to an adjacent ravine. In the course of the night the enemy, with the aid of their Indians, drew off the greater part of the wounded and dead and embarking them in boats descended the river with the utmost precipitation. In the course of the 2d instant, having heard the cannonading, I made several attempts to ascertain the force and situation of the enemy. Our scouts were unable to get near the fort from the Indians which surrounded it. Finding, however, that the enemy had only light artillery and being well convinced that it could make little impression upon the works, and that any attempt to storm it would be resisted with effect, I waited for the arrival of 250 mounted volunteers which on the evening before had left Upper Sandusky. But as soon as I was informed that the enemy were retreating, I set out with the dragoons to endeavor to overtake them, leaving Generals McArthur and Cass to follow with all the infantry (about 700) that could be spared from the protection of the stores and sick at this place. I found it impossible to come up with them. Upon my arrival at Sandusky I was informed by the prisoners that the enemy's forces consisted of 490 reg-

ular troops, and 500 of Dixon's Indians, commanded by General Proctor in person, and that Tecumseh with about two thousand warriors was somewhere in the swamps between this and Fort Meigs, expecting my advance or that of a convoy of provisions. As there was no prospect of doing anything in front, and being apprehensive that Tecumseh might destroy the stores and small detachments in my rear, I sent orders to General Cass, who commanded the reserve, to fall back to this place, and to General McArthur with the front line, to follow and support him.

I remained at Sandusky till the parties that were sent out in every direction returned, — not an enemy was to be seen.

I am sorry that I cannot transmit you Major Croghan's official report. He was to have sent it to me this morning, but I have just heard that he was so much exhausted by thirty-six hours of continued exertion, as to be unable to make it. It will not be amongst the least of General Proctor's mortifications to find that he has been baffled by a youth who has just passed his twenty-first year. He is, however, a hero worthy of his gallant uncle, Gen. G. R. Clarke, and I bless my good fortune in having first introduced this promising shoot of a distinguished family to the notice of the government.

Captain Hunter, of the 17th Regiment, the second in command, conducted himself with great propriety, and never were a set of finer young fellows than the subalterns, viz.: Lieutenants Johnson and Baylor, of the 17th, and Anthony of the 24th, Meeks of the Seventh, and Ensigns Shipp and Duncan of the 17th.

The following account of the unworthy artifice and conduct of the enemy will excite your indignation. Major Chambers was sent by General Proctor, accompanied by Colonel Elliott, to demand the surrender of the fort. They were met by Ensign Shipp. The Major observed that General Proctor had a number of cannon, a large body of regular troops, and so many Indians whom it was impossible to control, and if the fort was taken, as it must be, the whole of the garrison would be massacred. Mr. Shipp answered that it was the determination of Major Croghan, his officers and his men to defend the garrison or be buried in it, and they might do their best. Colonel Elliott then addressed Ensign Shipp and said: "You are a fine young man; I pity your situation; for God's sake surrender and prevent the dreadful slaughter that must follow resistance." Shipp turned from him with indignation, and was immediately taken hold of by an Indian who attempted to wrest his sword from him. Elliott pretended to exert himself to release him, and expressed great anxiety to get him safe in the fort.

In a letter I informed you, sir, that the post of Lower Sandusky could not be defended against heavy cannon, and that I had ordered the Commandant, if he could safely retire upon the advance of the enemy to do so after having destroyed the fort, as there was nothing in it that could justify the risk of defending it, commanded as it is by a hill on the opposite side of the river within range of cannon and having

on that side old and illy constructed blockhouses and dry, friable pickets. The enemy ascending the bay and river with a fine breeze, gave Major Croghan so little notice of their approach that he could not execute the order for retreating. Luckily they had no artillery but six pounders and five and a half inch howitzers.

General Proctor left Malden with the determination of storming Fort Meigs. His immense body of troops were divided into three commands (and must have amounted to a least five thousand); Dixon commanded the Mackinaw and other Northern tribes; Tecumseh, those of the Wabash, Illinois and St. Joseph; and Round Head, a Wyandot chief, the warriors of his own nation and those of the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawattamies of the Michigan territory. Upon seeing the formidable preparations to receive them at Fort Meigs, the idea of storming was abandoned and the plan adopted of decoying the garrison out or inducing me to come to its relief with a force inadequate to repel the attack of his immense hordes of savages. Having waited several days for the latter, and practising ineffectually several stratagems to accomplish the former, provisions began to be scarce and the Indians to be dissatisfied. The attack upon Sandusky was the dernier resort. The greater part of the Indians refused to accompany him and returned to the River Raisin. Tecumseh, with his command, remained in the neighborhood of Fort Meigs, sending parties to all the posts upon Hull's road, and those of the Auglaize to search for cattle. Five hundred of the northern Indians under Dixon attended Proctor. I have sent a party to the lake to ascertain the direction that he enemy have taken. The scouts which have returned saw no signs of Indians later than those made in the night of the 2d inst., and a party has just arrived from Fort Meigs who made the same report. I think it probable that they have all gone off. If so, this mighty armament, from which so much was expected by the enemy will return covered with disgrace and mortification. As Captain Perry was nearly ready to sail from Erie when I heard from him last, I hope that the period will soon arrive when we shall transfer the laboring oar of the enemy, and oblige him to encounter some of the labors and difficulties which we had undergone in waging a defensive warfare and protecting our extensive frontier against a superior force. I have the honor to enclose you a copy of the first note received from Major Croghan. It was written before day. He was mistaken as to the number of the enemy that remained in the ditch; they amounted to one lieutenant colonel (by brevet), one lieutenant and 25 privates; the number of prisoners to one sergeant and 25 privates, fourteen of them badly wounded. Every care has been taken of the latter and the officers buried with the honors due to the rank and their bravery. All the dead that were not in the ditch were taken off in the night by the Indians. It is impossible from the circumstances of the attack that they should have lost less than one hundred; some of the

prisoners think that it amounted to two hundred. A young gentleman, a private in Petersburg volunteers, of the name of Brown, assisted by five or six of that company and the Pittsburg Blues, who were accidentally in the fort, managed the six-pounder which produced such destruction in the ranks of the enemy.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

N. B.—Of our few wounded men there is but one that will not be well in less than six days.

HEADQUARTERS SENECA TOWN

5TH AUGUST, 1813, 6 O'CLOCK A. M.

SIRS—I have the honor to enclose you Major Croghan's report of the attack upon his post, which has this moment come to hand. Fortunately the mail has not closed.

With great respect I have the honor to be sir,

Your humble servant,

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S.—The new ship was launched at Malden on the 17th ult. I have apprised Commodore Perry of it.

Hon. General Armstrong, Sec'y of War.

LOWER SANDUSKY, AUGUST 5, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to inform you that the combined force of the enemy amounting to at least 500 regulars and seven or eight hundred Indians under the immediate command of General Proctor, made its appearance before this place early on Sunday evening last; and so soon as the General had made such disposition of his troops as would cut off my retreat, should I be disposed to make one, he sent Colonel Elliott, accompanied by Major Chambers, with a flag to demand the surrender of the fort as he was anxious to spare the effusion of blood which he should probably not have in his power to do should he be reduced to the necessity of taking the place by storm.

My answer to the summons was that I was determined to defend the place to the last extremity and that no force however large, should induce me to surrender it. So soon as the flag was returned a brisk fire was opened upon us from the gun boats in the river and from a five and one-half inch howitzer on shore, which was kept up with little intermission throughout the night. At an early hour the next morning, three sizes (which had been placed during the night within 250 yards of the

pickets) began to play upon us but with little effect. About 4 P. M., discovering that the fire from all his guns was concentrated against the northwestern angle of the fort, I became confident that his object was to storm the works at that point. I therefore ordered out as many men as could be employed for the purpose of strengthening that part which was so effectually secured by means of bags of flour, sand, etc., that the picketing suffered little or no injury, notwithstanding which the enemy, about 500, having formed in close column, advanced to assault our works at the expected point, at the same time making two feints on the front of Captain Hunter's lines. The column which advanced against the northwestern angle consisting of about 350 men was so completely enveloped in smoke as not to be discovered until it had approached within fifteen or twenty paces of the lines, but the men being all at their posts and ready to receive it, commenced so heavy and galling a fire as to throw the column into a little confusion. Being quickly rallied it advanced to the center works and began to leap into the ditch. Just at that moment a fire of grape was opened from our six-pounder (which had been previously arranged so as to rake in that direction) which together with the musketry, threw them into such confusion that they were compelled to retire precipitately into the woods. During the assault which lasted about half an hour, an incessant fire was kept up by the enemy's artillery (which consisted of five sixes and a howitzer) but without effect. My whole loss during the siege was one killed and seven slightly wounded. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded and prisoners must exceed one hundred and fifty. One Lt. col., a Lt. and fifty rank and file were found in and about the ditch, dead or wounded. Those of the remainder who were not able to escape, were taken off during the night by the Indians. Seventy stand of arms and several brace of pistols have been collected near the works. About three in the morning the enemy sailed down the river leaving behind them a boat containing considerable military stores.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates under my command for their gallantry and good conduct during the siege.

Yours with respect,

G. CROGHAN,

Major 17th U. S. Inf., Commanding Lower Sandusky.

Major General Harrison, Commanding Northwestern Army.

LOWER SANDUSKY, AUGUST 27, 1813.

I have with much regret seen in some of the public prints such misrepresentations concerning my refusal to evacuate this post, as are calculated not only to injure me in the estimation of military men, but also

to excite unfavorable impressions as to the propriety of General Harrison's conduct relative to this affair.

His character as a military man is too well established to need my approbation or support, but his public services entitle him at least to common justice. This affair does not furnish cause of reproach. If public opinion has been lately misled respecting his late conduct, it will require but a moment's cool, dispassionate reflection to convince them of its propriety. The measures recently adopted by him, so far from deserving censure, are the clearest proofs of his keen penetration and able generalship. It is true that I did not proceed immediately to execute his order to evacuate this post, but this disobedience was not as some would wish to believe, the result of a fixed determination to maintain the post contrary to his most positive orders, as will appear from the following detail, which is given in explanation of my conduct:

About ten o'clock on the morning of the 30th ult. a letter from the Adjutant General's office dated Seneca Town, July 29, 1813, was handed me by Mr. Connor, ordering me to abandon this post, burn it and retreat that night to headquarters. On the reception of this order of the general I called a council of officers, in which it was determined not to abandon the place until the further pleasure of the General should be known, as it was thought an attempt to retreat in the open day, in the face of a superior force of the enemy would be more hazardous than to remain in the fort, under all its disadvantages. I therefore wrote a letter to the General Council in such terms as I thought were calculated to deceive the enemy should it fall into his hands, which I thought more than probable, as well as to inform the General should it be so fortunate as to reach him that I would wait to hear from him before I should proceed to execute his order. The letter, contrary to my expectations was received by the General, who, not knowing what reasons urged me to write in a tone so decisive, concluded very rationally that the manner of it was demonstrative of the most positive determination to disobey his orders under any circumstances. I was therefore suspended from the command of the fort and ordered to headquarters. But on explaining to the General my reason for not executing his orders, and my object in using the style I had done, he was so perfectly satisfied with the explanation that I was immediately reinstated in the command.

It will be recollected that the above order alluded to was written on the night previous to my receiving it. Had it been delivered to me as was intended that night, I should have obeyed it without hesitating. Its not reaching me in time was the only reason which induced me to consult my officers on the propriety of waiting the General's further orders.

It has been stated, also, that "upon my representations of my ability to maintain the post the General altered his determination to abandon it." This is incorrect. No such representation was ever made. And the last order I received from the General was precisely the same as that first given, viz: "That if I discovered the approach of a large British force

by water, (presuming that they would bring heavy artillery), time enough to effect a retreat, I was to do so; but if I could not effect a retreat with safety to defend the post to the last extremity."

A day or two before the enemy appeared before Fort Meigs, the General had reconnoitered the surrounding ground and being informed that the hill on the opposite side of Sandusky completely commanded the fort, I offered to undertake with the troops under my command to remove it to that side. The General, upon reflection, thought it best not to attempt it, as he believed that if the enemy again appeared on this side of the lake, it would be before the work could be finished.

It is useless to disguise the fact that this fort is commanded by the points of high ground around it; a single stroke of the eye made this clear to me the first time I had occasion to examine the neighborhood, with a view of discovering the relative strength and weakness of the place:

It would be insincere to say that I am not flattered by the many handsome things which have been said about the defense that was made by the troops under my command; but I desire no plaudits which are bestowed upon me at the expense of General Harrison.

I have at all times enjoyed his confidence so far as my rank in the army entitled me to it, and on proper occasions received his marked attentions. I have felt the warmest attachment to him as a man and my confidence in him as an able commander remains unshaken. I feel every assurance that he will at all times do me ample justice; and nothing could give me more pain than to see his enemies seize upon this occasion to deal out their unfriendly feelings and acrimonious dislikes; and as long as he continues (as in my humble opinion he has done hitherto) to make the wisest arrangements and most judicious disposition which the forces under his command will justify, I shall not hesitate to unite with the army in bestowing upon him that confidence which he so richly merits and which has on no occasion been withheld.

Your friend,

GEORGE CROGHAN,

Major 17th Inf., Commanding Lower Sandusky.

LOWER SENACA TOWN, AUG. 29, 1813.

The undersigned being the general field and staff officers, with that portion of the Northwestern Army under the immediate command of General Harrison, have observed with regret and surprise that charges as improper in the form as in the substance, have been made against the conduct of General Harrison, during the recent investment of Lower Sandusky. At another time and under ordinary circumstances we should deem it improper and unmilitary thus publicly to give an opinion respecting the movements of the army. But public confidence in the command-

ing general is so essential to the success of the campaign and causelessly to withdraw or to withhold that confidence is more than individual injustice; it becomes a serious injury to the service. A part of the force of which the American Army consists will derive its greatest strength and efficiency from a confidence in the commanding general and from those moral causes which accompany and give energy to public opinion. A very erroneous idea concerning the number of the troops then at the disposal of the General has doubtless been the primary cause of those unfortunate and unfounded impressions. A sense of duty forbids us from giving a detailed view of our strength at that time. In that respect we have fortunately experienced a very favorable change. But we refer the public to the General's official report to the Secretary of War, of Major Croghan's successful defence of Lower Sandusky. In that will be found a statement of our whole disposable force; and he who believes that, with such a force and under the circumstances which then occurred, General Harrison ought to have advanced upon the enemy, must be left to correct his opinion in the school of experience.

On a review of the course then adopted, we are decidedly of the opinion that it was such as was dictated by military wisdom and by a due regard to our own circumstances and to the situation of the enemy. The reasons for this opinion it is evidently improper now to give, but we hold ourselves ready at a future period, and when other circumstances shall have intervened, to satisfy every man of its correctness who is anxious to investigate and willing to receive the truth. And with ready acquiescence beyond the mere claims of military duty, we are prepared to obey a General whose measures meet our most deliberate approbation and merit that of his country.

LEWIS CASS, *Brig. Gen. U. S. A.*,
 SAMUEL WELLS, *Col. 17th R., U. S. I.*,
 THOMAS D. OWINGS, *Col. 28th R., U. S. I.*,
 GEORGE PAUL, *Col. 17th R., U. S. I.*,
 J. C. BARTLETT, *Col., Quar. M. Gen.*,
 JAMES V. BALL, *Lt.-Col.*
 ROBERT MORRISON, *Lt.-Col.*
 GEORGE TODD, *Major 19th R., U. S. I.*
 WILLIAM TRIGG, *Major 28th R., U. S. I.*,
 JAMES SMILEY, *Major 28th R., U. S. I.*
 R. GRAHAM, *Major 7th R., U. S. I.*,
 GEORGE CROGHAN, *Major 17th R., U. S. I.*,
 L. HULKILL, *Major and Ass't Inspector Gen.*
 E. D. WOOD, *Major Engineers*

Eleven days after Croghan's splendid victory, the ladies of Chillicothe, then the State capital, presented to the gallant commandant a sword accompanied by an address, as a public acknowledgment of his bravery and military skill. The names attached to the address show that the

wives of the most prominent men of the time anxiously watched affairs and were ready to reward and praise gallantry.

CHILLICOTHE, August 13, 1813.

SIR:—In consequence of the gallant defense which under the influence of Divine Providence was effected by you and troops under your command, of Fort Stephenson at Lower Sandusky, on the evening of the second inst., the ladies of the town of Chillicothe, whose names are undersigned, impressed with a high sense of your merit as a soldier and a gentleman, and with great confidence in your patriotism and valor, present you with a sword.

To Major George Croghan

Signed by

MARY FINLEY,
MARY STERRET,
ANN CRAIGHTON,
ELEANOR LAMB,
NANCY WADDLE,
ELIZA CARLISLE,
MARY A. SOUTHARD,
SUSAN D. WHEATON,
RUHAMMA IRWIN,
JUDITH DELANO,
MARGARET MCCLANDBURGH,
MARGARET MILLER,
NANCY MCARTHUR,
JANE MCCOY,
LAVINIA FULTON,
MARTHA SCOTT,
CATHARINE FULLERTON,
ELEANOR WORTHINGTON,

REBECCA M. ORR,
SUSAN WALKE,
ANN M. DUN,
MARGARET KEYS,
CHARLOTTE JAMES,
ESTHER DOOLITTLE,
ELEANOR BUCHANNON,
MARGARET MCFARLAND,
DEBORAH FERREE,
JANE M. EVANS,
FRANCES BRUSH,
MARY CURTES,
MARY P. BROWN,
JANE HEYLAN,
NANCY KERR,
CATHARINE HOUGH,
SALLY MCLEAN,
ELIZABETH MARTIN.

To this letter Major Croghan made the following reply dated at Lower Sandusky, August 25th:

Ladies of Chillicothe:

I have received the sword which you have been pleased to present to me as a testimonial of your approbation of my conduct on the second inst. A mark of distinction so flattering and unexpected has excited feelings which I cannot express. Yet while I return you thanks for the unmerited gift you have bestowed, I feel well aware that my good fortune which was bought by the activity of the brave soldiers under my command, has raised in you expectations in my future efforts which must sooner or later, I fear, be disappointed. Still, I pledge myself, even though fortune may not again be propitious, that my exertions shall be such as never to cause you in the least to regret the honors you have been pleased to confer upon your "youthful soldier."

PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY.

BY E. O. RANDALL.

For a century and a half (1600-1750) France and England had been rivals for the possession of the fairest part of the North American continent. Each nation had acquired a fixed



PONTIAC.

tenancy but the extent of those respective holdings was unequal. France by her discoveries and occupancies had preempted Canada, the region of the Great Lakes, and the Ohio and Mississippi valleys; England, through her colonies, the New England Coast from near the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, and inland to the Alleghany and Appalachian Mountains. England claimed, through the charters of her colonies, the territory west to the Mississippi, and even beyond "from sea to sea." The valley of the Ohio was the garden portion of this contested claim. The time had

come for a final test of the supreme power of each claimant. The expedition of Colon de Bienville, on the part of the French, through the Ohio country, and of Christopher Gist through the same territory on the part of the English, precipitated the conclusion as to the respective rights of the parties. Each proposed to secure at once this fair land by military occupation. The clash of arms was preluded by attempted arbitration. Legardeur St. Pierre as envoy of the French authority; Tanacharison, the Half King of the Iroquois tribes, on the part of the Indians; and George Washington as representative of Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, on the part of the British, held tripartite conferences at

Logstown, Le Boeuf and Venango. These peculiar international parleyings were held in the winter of 1753-54. The French claimed the Ohio and Mississippi valleys by priority of discovery and settlement; the English by right of the western continuation of their Atlantic coast charters and grants; the Indian, by right of original occupation and uninterrupted tenancy. Naught but the gage of war could decide this dispute. The defeat of Braddock was the opening battle. In the early spring of 1754, Captain Trent, under the instructions of Governor Dinwiddie, with a company of Virginia colonists, hastened across the mountains to the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, known as the forks of the Ohio. That point was regarded as the commanding site for the Ohio Valley. It intercepted the waterway of the Frenchmen from their Canadian capital to the Ohio country. The soldiers of Captain Trent, some forty in number, began to erect a fort at the above named site while awaiting the arrival of Washington with reinforcements, when, on the 17th of April, 1754, Captain Contracoeur, with a thousand French and Indians, and eighteen cannon, proceeded down the Alleghany river in sixty bateaux and three hundred canoes, took possession of the unfinished fort, completed it, and named it Fort Duquesne in honor of the Captain-General of Canada. The soldiers of Captain Trent were permitted to retreat to the quarters of Washington at Wills creek.

Early in 1755, fleets from England and France, respectively arrived with munitions of war and strong bodies of troops to inaugurate the long and bloody war that was to ensue. General Edward Braddock, an experienced British warrior, was placed in command of the British forces and organized an expedition for the capture of Fort Duquesne. With some two thousand men* Braddock made a forced march towards his destination, when, on the 8th day of July, on the banks of the Monongahela, at a point not far distant from the new French Fort (Duquesne) he was met by the combined French soldiers and Indian braves under the French Captain De Beaujeu. For more than two hours the battle raged fearfully. Braddock's chief subordinate officer was George Washington. It was the

* The authorities vary from 1,200 to 2,300.

first great military action of his wonderful career. In Braddock's command also were Thomas Gage, who twenty years later at the outbreak of the Revolution, was Governor of Massachusetts Colony and general-in-chief of the British forces in America; and Horatio Gates, who in the Revolution espoused the side of the Americans and received the sword of Burgoyne at Saratoga. There were many others in Braddock's ranks who subsequently distinguished themselves in the War for Independence. The motley army of the enemy consisted of two hundred and fifty French and Canadian troops, and hundreds of savages whom the French had mustered from far and near. They were the Ojibwas, Ottawas, Hurons, Caughnawagas, Abenakis and Delawares. The Ottawas were led, most authorities agree, by the then great hero of the Indian race, Pontiac. The brave De Beaujeu fell at the commencement of the fight, but the victory was to his army of French and Indians. Braddock, unused to Indian warfare, insisted upon marching his handsomely uniformed, thoroughly equipped and skillfully trained soldiers into the face of the enemy in close columns, as he had done in his European victories. The fierceness of the attack and hideous war-whoops of the Indians, which the British regulars had never before heard, frightened and confused them, and they fell into a panic. Braddock himself was killed, and of eighty-six English officers sixty-three were slain or wounded, and half of his private soldiers were cut down. Washington rode through the tumult calm and undaunted. Two horses were killed under him, and four bullets pierced his clothes.* The slaughter was terrific, and the survivors fled tumultuously from the scene of carnage and hastened back across the Monongahela. It was a terrible and tragical commencement of the French and Indian war. In the lengthy contest that was to ensue the Indian of the Ohio and Mississippi valley cast his lot with the Frenchmen. This was a natural and logical selection. The French colonists of Canada had from the beginning cultivated a peculiar intimacy of re-

*It was in this battle that an Indian subsequently reported he had deliberately fired at Washington more than a dozen times but was unable to hit him.

lationship with the Indian tribes. The possession of Canada and the establishment of the French posts along the southern shores of the Great Lakes and on the inland rivers brought the Frenchmen into close touch with the forest life of the native savage. The Frenchmen, moreover, were tradesmen going and coming as adventure or commerce dictated, and with the Gallic facility of manner and pliability of temperament they readily made friends with the red men of the forest. They gave them presents, flattered and amused them. Their missionaries, too, brought religion, aid and sympathy to the superstitious natives. The French adventurers, moreover, of easy habits, often made love to the dusky maidens of the tribes, sometimes married them and in an apt and adroit manner adapted themselves to the wild life of the tribesmen. With the British it was far otherwise. The Anglo-Saxon displayed "no such phenomena of mingling races." Cold, sturdy, indomitable, the Briton came for a serious purpose and he came to stay. He settled to cultivate the land for agriculture and for the establishment of permanent homes. The Indian, by contract and intuition, therefore rightly decided that he had more to fear from the emigrants from England than from the volatile and more complacent invaders from France. The defeat of Braddock and the ignominious flight of his soldiers strengthened the idea of the Indian that the Frenchman was the more agile and courageous and in the end would be conqueror.

It is not the province of this article to follow the varying fortunes of the French and Indian war. It was prosecuted for five succeeding years with the full energy of both nations. The earlier years were unpropitious to the British, but in the year 1758 the tide began to turn and the culmination was reached in that memorable encounter on the Plains of Abraham before Quebec. It was September 13, 1759, that the invincible Wolfe led his British forces against the French under the intrepid Montcalm. Both leaders fell in that contest and the "rock-built citadel of Canada passed forever from the hands of its ancient masters." The Hurons of Lorette, the Abenakis, and other tribes domiciled in Canada, ranged themselves on the side of France

throughout the war. The numerous tribes of the remote west had also, with few exceptions, been the active allies of the French. The conquest of Canada left the Indians of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys subject to British domination. The Red men were repulsed but not conquered. They were scattered over a vast territory, their total number between the Mississippi on the west, the Ocean on the east, between the Ohio on the south and the Great Lakes on the north, was probably not in excess of two hundred thousand and their fighting warriors not more than ten thousand.* Fort Duquesne was in November, 1758, captured from the French by the British forces under Gen. John Forbes. The military posts of the French in the east, on the waters of Lake Erie and the Alleghany, viz., Presqu' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango, passed into the hands of the British soon after the taking of Fort Dequesne. Most of the western forts were transferred to the English, during the autumn of 1760; but the extreme western settlements on the Illinois, viz., Forts Ouatanon, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Chartres and Cahokia remained several years longer under French control. In the fall of 1760 Major Robert Rogers was directed by the then British commander, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, to traverse the great lakes with a detachment of provincial troops and, in the name of England, take possession of Detroit, Michillimackinac and the other western forts included in the surrender of the French. Major Rogers with two hundred rangers left Montreal, ascended the St. Lawrence, crossed lakes Ontario and Erie and reached the mouth of the Cuyahoga† on the 7th of November. No body of troops under the British flag had ever before penetrated so far west on the lakes. Rogers and his men encamped in the neighboring forest. Shortly after their arrival a party of Indian chiefs and warriors appeared at the

* Estimate of William Johnson in 1763; Iroquois 1,950; Delawares 600; Shawnees 300; Wyandots 450; Miamis and Kickapoos 800; Ottawas, Ojibwas and other wandering tribes of the Northwest "defy all efforts at enumeration." The British population in the colonies was then about 1,000,000; the French something like 100,000.

†Rogers called this river Chocage. Roger's camp was on the present site of the City of Cleveland.

camp and declared they were envoys from Pontiac, "ruler of all that country," and demanded in his name, that the British soldiers "should advance no further" until they had conferred with the great chief, who was rapidly approaching. That same day Pontiac himself appeared; and "it is here," says Parkman, "for the first time, that this remarkable man stands forth distinctly on the page of history." The place and date of birth of Pontiac are both matters of dispute. There seems to be no doubt that he was the son of an Ottawa chief; his mother is variously stated to have been an Ojibwa, a Miami, and a Sac. Preponderance of evidence, as the lawyers say, seems to favor the Ojibwas. Authorities also vary as to the date of his nativity from 1712 to 1720.* Historical writers usually content themselves with the vague statement that he was born "on the Ottawa river" without designating which Ottawa river, for many were so called; indeed, the Ottawas were in the habit of calling every stream upon which they sojourned any length of time, Ottawa, after their own tribe. The Miami Chief Richardville is on record as often asserting that Pontiac was born by the Maumee at the mouth of the Auglaize.† In any event Pontiac, like his great successor, the incomparable Shawanee chief, Tecumseh, was a native of Ohio.

The Ottawas, Ojibwas and the Pottawattamies had formed a sort of alliance of which Pontiac was the virtual head. He was of a despotic and commanding temperament, and he wielded practical authority among all the tribes of the Illinois country, and was known to all the Indian nations of America. Pontiac, conscious of his power and position, haughtily asked Major Rogers, "What his business was in that country," and how he dared enter it without Pontiac's permission. Rogers informed the chief that

* Parkman says he was about fifty years old when he met Major Rogers, which was in 1760.

† Chief Richardville also asserted that Pontiac was born of an Ottawa father and a Miami mother. The probability of this tradition is followed by Knapp in his *History of the Maumee Valley* and accepted by Dr. C. E. Slocum of Defiance, a very careful and reliable authority. Dodge in *Redmen of the Ohio Valley* says some claimed Pontiac was a Catawba prisoner, adopted into the Ottawa tribe.



MEETING OF MAJOR ROGERS AND PONTIAC. (AFTER AN OLD DRAWING.)

the war was over, the French defeated, the country surrendered to the British, and he was on his way to receive the posts from the French occupiers. Pontiac was wily and diplomatic. He received the news stolidly, reserved his answer till next morning, when his reply was that as he desired to live in peace with the British, he would let them remain in his country as long as "they treated him with due respect and deference." Both parties smoked the calumet and protested friendship. Rogers proceeded on his errand. On November 29, 1760, the French garrison at Detroit transferred that historic and most important western station to British possession.*

The stormy season prevented Rogers from advancing farther. Michillimackinac and the three remoter posts of St. Marie, La Baye (Green Bay) and St. Joseph remained in the hands of the French until the next year. The interior posts of the Illinois country were also retained by the French, but the British conquest of America was completed. The victory of England and the transfer of the French strongholds to British commanders was a terrible and portentous blow to the Indian. He could not fail to foresee therein dire results to his race. His prophetic vision read the handwriting on the wall! Expressions and signs of discontent and apprehension began to be audible among the Indian tribes; "from the Potomac to Lake Superior, and from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, in every wigwam and hamlet of the forest, a deep-rooted hatred of the English increased with rapid growth." When the French occupied the military posts of the lakes and the rivers they freely supplied the neighboring Indians

* Detroit was first settled by Cadillac, July 24, 1701 with fifty soldiers and fifty artisans and traders. So it had been the chief western stronghold of the French for 150 years. Detroit at this time (1760) contained about two thousand inhabitants. The center of the settlement was a fortified town, known as the Fort, to distinguish it from the dwellings scattered along the river banks. The Fort stood on the western bank of the river and contained about a hundred small wood houses with bark or thatch straw roofs. These primitive dwellings were packed closely together and surrounded and protected by a palisade about twenty-five feet high; at each corner was a wooden bastion and a blockhouse was erected over each gateway. The only public buildings in the enclosure were a council house, the barracks and a rude little church.

with weapons, clothing, provisions and fire water. The sudden cessation of these bounties was a grievous and significant calamity. The English fur trader and incomer was rude and coarse and domineering as compared with the agreeable and docile Frenchman. Worse and more alarming than all was the intrusion into the forest solitude and hunting ground of the Indian by the English settler, who regarded the redman as having no rights he was bound to respect. While the rivalry between the two white nations was in progress, the redman was courted by each as holding in large degree the balance of power. But the war over, the ascendant Briton no longer regarded the Indians as necessary allies and they were in large measure treated with indifference and injustice. The hostility of the Indian against the British was of course, assiduously promoted by the French who saw in it trouble for the British, possibly a regaining of their lost ground. The warlike and revengeful spirit of the Indian began to give itself vent. The smouldering fires were bound to burst forth. During the years 1761 and 1762, plots were hatched in various tribes, to stealthily approach and by attack or treacherous entrance, destroy the posts of Detroit, Fort Pitt and others. These plots were severally discovered in time to forestall their attempt. Indian indignation reached its height when in 1763 it was announced to the tribes that the King of France had ceded all their (Indian) country to the King of England, without consulting them in the matter. At once a plot was contrived, "such as was never before or since conceived or executed by North American Indians." It was determined and planned to make an assault upon all the British posts on the same day; "then, having destroyed the garrisons to turn upon the defenseless frontier and ravage and lay waste the white settlements." It was fondly believed by thousands of braves that then the British might be exterminated or at least driven to the sea board and confined to their coast settlements. It was the great Chief Pontiac, who if he did not originally instigate, fostered, directed and personally commanded this secretly arranged universal movement. His master mind comprehended the importance and necessity of combined and harmonious effort. He proposed to unite all the tribes into one confederacy

for offensive operations. At the close of 1762 he dispatched ambassadors to the different nations; to the tribes of the north on



PONTIAC.

the lakes; to the north-west, the headwaters of the Mississippi and south to its mouth; to the east and the south-east. The Indians thus enlisted and banded together against the British comprised, "with few unimportant exceptions, the whole Algonquin stock." Especially were the Ohio tribes solicited and secured; the Shawanees, the Miamis, the Wyandots and the Delawares. The Senecas were the only members of the Iroquois confederacy that joined the league. The onslaught was to be made in the month of May, 1763. The tribes to rise simultaneously at the various points and each tribe destroy the British garrison in its neighborhood.

It was a vast scheme, worthy the brain and courage of the greatest general and shrewdest statesman. The plan was divulged by individual Indians to officers at two or three of the posts, but was either disbelieved or its importance ignored. While this gigantic and almost chimerical plot was being developed by Pontiac and his associate chiefs, the Treaty of Peace between France

and England was signed at Paris, February 10, 1763. By this compact France yielded to England all her territory north of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence and east of the Mississippi. The Spanish possessions on the Gulf of Mexico were ceded to England, the territory west of the Mississippi going to Spain. France was left no foothold in North America. While the powers of England, France and Spain were in the French capital arranging this result as Parkman remarks, "countless Indian warriors in the American forests were singing the war song and whetting their scalping knives." The chief center of Indian activity and the main point of attack was the Post of Detroit, the western headquarters of the British government. Pontiac was personally to strike the first blow. The rendezvous of his painted and armed warriors was to be the banks of the little river Ecorces which empties into the Detroit river a few miles below the fort, now the city of Detroit. It was the 27th of April when the assembled warriors listened to the final war speech of the great chief. Pontiac was an orator of a high order, fierce and impassioned in style. He presented at length the injustice of the British as compared with that of the French; he set forth the danger to his race from the threatened supremacy of the British power; he predicted the awakening of "their great father the King of France," during whose sleep the English had robbed the Indian of his American possessions. In passionate appeals he aroused the vengeance and superstition of his people and warned them that the white man's civilization was poisoning and annihilating the red race. In his dramatic way he related to the superstitious Indians a dream wherein the Great Spirit sent his message that they were to cast aside the weapons, the utensils of civilization and the "deadly rum" of the white men, and, with aid from the Great Spirit, drive the dogs in red from every post in their (Indian) country. He revealed his plans of destruction of the whites and the details of the plot to secure Detroit. He and a few of his chosen chiefs were to visit the fort, under pretense of a peaceful visit, gain admittance, seek audience with Major Henry Gladwyn, the commandant and his officers, and then at an agreed signal the chiefs were to draw their weapons, previously concealed beneath their blankets, raise the war whoop, rush upon the officers and strike them down. The

Indian forces waiting meanwhile at the gate were then to assail the surprised and half-armed soldiers. Thus through this perfidious murder Detroit would fall an easy prey to the savages and Pontiac's conspiracy have a successful inauguration. His plan was approved. Just below Detroit, on the same side of the river, was a Pottawattamie village; across the river some three miles up the current was an Ottawa village; on the same eastern side about a mile below Detroit was the Wyandot village. Along each side of the river for two or three miles were houses of the French settlers. "The King and lord of all this country," as Major Rogers called Pontiac, had located one of his homes, where he spent the early summer, on a little island (*Isle a Pêche*) at the opening of Lake St. Clair. Here he had a small oven-shaped cabin of bark and rushes. Here he dwelt with his squaws and children, and here doubtless he might often have been seen, lounging, Indian style, half naked, on a rush mat or bearskin.

The number of warriors under the command of Pontiac is variously estimated from six hundred to two thousand. The garrison consisted of one hundred and twenty soldiers, eight officers, and about forty others capable of bearing arms. Two armed schooners, "The Beaver" and "The Gladwyn," were anchored in the river near the Fort. Pontiac's plot was revealed to Gladwyn the night before its proposed execution by an Ojibwa girl from the Pottawattamie village.* Gladwyn thus warned was forearmed. Pontiac and his six chiefs were admitted to the council chamber. Pontiac began the harangue of peace and friendly palaver and was about to give the preconcerted signal when Gladwyn raised his hand and the sound of clashing arms and drum beating was heard without. Pontiac feared he was foiled and announcing he would "call again," next time with his squaws and children, he and his party withdrew. The next morning Pontiac, in hopes of regaining Gladwyn's confidence, repaired

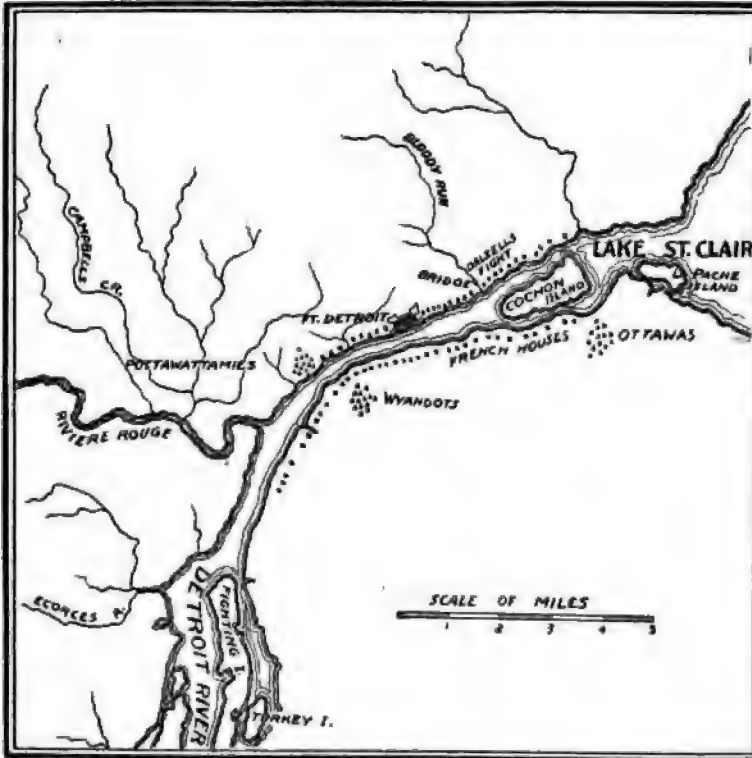
* There are many versions of the divulging of the plot; one that it was by an old squaw; another that a young squaw of doubtful character told it to one of the subordinate officers; still another that it was by an Ottawa warrior. Parkman seems to favor the Ojibwa girl, called Catherine and said to be the mistress of Gladwyn. It is certain, however, that Gladwyn was warned.

to the Fort with but three of his chiefs and bearing in his hand the pipe of peace. Offering it to Gladwyn he again protested his friendship for the British whom he declared "we love as our brothers." A few days later the Indians thronged the open field behind the Fort gate. It was closed and barred. Pontiac advancing demanded admittance. Gladwyn replied that he might enter, but only alone. The great chief, baffled and enraged, then "threw off the mask he had so long worn" and boldly declared his intention to make war. A day or two later the four tribes, Ottawas, Ojibwas, Pottawattamies and Wyandots clamored about the fort and the attack was begun by volleys of bullets fired at the palisade walls. Thus opened the famous siege of Detroit, which lasted six months, from May 1 to November 1 (1763), one of the longest and most bitterly contested sieges in the history of western Indian warfare. The incomparable treachery of Pontiac in endeavoring to secure the Fort by dissemblance of friendship was further evidenced by his pretense at a truce. Pontiac declaring his earnest desire for "firm and lasting peace," requested Gladwyn to send to the camp of the chief, Captain Campbell, Gladwyn's second in command, a veteran officer and most upright and manly in character. Campbell went, was made prisoner and subsequently foully and hideously murdered. Pontiac neglected no expedient known to Indian perfidy, cruelty or deviltry. He surpassed his race in all the detestable elements of their nature. His conduct from first to last was only calculated to create distrust, contempt and loathing. His warriors murdered the British settlers in the vicinity of the fort, burned their huts, robbed the Canadians and committed every variety of depredation. The story of that siege cannot be told in detail here.

Pontiac realizing the seriousness of the situation and the obstinate courage of the British garrison, prepared for a lengthy campaign. He ordered the Ottawa village moved across the river to the Detroit side, where it was located about a mile and a half northeast of the Fort at the mouth of Parent's creek, afterwards known as Bloody Run.

The garrison bravely and patiently withstood all assaults and bided the time of rescue. By midnight sallies and other

expedients they removed all exterior buildings, fences, trees and other obstacles that lay within the range of their guns or that might afford protection to sneaking and stealthy Indians who would crawl snake-like close to the palisade and fire at the sentinels and loopholes, or shoot their arrows tipped with burning tow upon the roofs of the structures within the Fort. Fortunately the supply of water was inexhaustible; the provisions



were wisely husbanded; friendly Canadians across the river under cover of night brought supplies. These Canadian farmers were also subject to tribute to the Indians, who seized their supplies by theft or open violence. They appealed to Pontiac and about the only creditable act recorded of that perfidious chief was his agreement to make restitution to the robbed settlers. Pontiac gave them in payment for their purloined property

promissory notes drawn on birch bark and signed with the figure of an otter — the totem to which he belonged — all of which promises to pay, it is said, were redeemed.

Day after day passed with varying incidents of attack and repulse. The keen-eyed watchfulness of the Indians never for an instant abated; their vigils were tireless and ceaseless; woe to the soldier who ventured without the Fort or even lifted his head above the palisade. Pontiac's patience was strengthened with the delusive idea that the French were only temporarily defeated and would rally to his assistance. He even dispatched messengers across the interior to the French commandant Neyon at Fort Chartres on the Mississippi, requesting that French troops be sent without delay to his aid. Meanwhile Gladwyn had sent



HENRY GLADWYN.

one of his schooners to Ft. Niagara to hasten promised reinforcements from the British. Lieutenant Cuyler had already (May 13) left Niagara with a convoy of seven boats, ninety-six men and quantities of supplies and ammunition. This little fleet coasted along the northern shore of Lake Erie until near the mouth of the Detroit river. The force attempted to land, when a band of Wyandot Indians suddenly burst from the woods, seized five of the boats and killed or captured sixty of the soldiers. Cuyler

with the remaining men (36), many of whom were wounded, escaped in the other boats and crossed to Ft. Sandusky, which they found had been taken and burned by the Wyandots; the garrison had been slaughtered and Ensign Paully sent prisoner to Pontiac's camp. Cuyler with his escaping companions slowly wentled his way back where he reported the result of his expedition to the commanding officer, Major Wilkins. At the same time the Wyandots, with the captured boats and prisoners, proceeded up the Detroit to Pontiac's quarters, arriving in full sight of the Fort's garrison, when Gladwyn of course learned of the destruction of the Cuyler flotilla. The disappointment to the

inmates of the Fort was almost unbearable. Gladwyn's schooner, however, reached Ft. Niagara and returned about July 1, laden with food, ammunition and reinforcements and the most welcome news of the Treaty of Paris. Pontiac, undismayed, continued his efforts. His forces now numbered, it is recorded, about eight hundred and twenty warriors; two hundred and fifty Ottawas, his own tribe and under his immediate command; one hundred and fifty Pottawattamies, under Ninivay; fifty Wyandots under Takee; two hundred Ojibwas under Wasson, and one hundred and seventy of the same tribe under Sekahos.*

The two schooners were a serious menace to the movements of the Indians, and many desperate attempts were made to burn them by midnight attacks, and the floating of fire rafts down upon them; but all to no avail. Pontiac had the stubborn persistency of a later American general who said he would fight it out on that line if it took all summer. He exerted himself with fresh zeal to gain possession of the fort. He demanded the surrender of Gladwyn, saying a still greater force of Indians was on the march to swell the army of besiegers. Gladwyn was equally tenacious and unyielding, he proposed to "hold the fort" till the enemy were worn out or re-enforcements arrived. Pontiac sought to arouse the active aid of the neighboring Canadians, but the treaty of Paris had made them British subjects, and they dared not war on their conquerors. History scarcely furnishes a like instance of so large an Indian force struggling so long in an attack on a fortified place.

The Wyandots and Pottawattamies, however, never as enthusiastic in this war as the other tribes, late in July decided to withdraw from the besieging confederacy and make peace with the British. They did so and exchanged prisoners with Gladwyn. The Ottawas and Ojibwas, however, still held on, watching the fort, and keeping up a desultory fusilade. The end was drawing nigh. On July 29 Captain James Dalzell arrived from Niagara with artillery supplies and two hundred and eighty men in twenty-two barges. Their approach to the fort was bravely contested

*Parkman observes that as the warriors brought their squaws and children with them, the whole number of Indians congregated about Detroit, at this time, must have been more than three thousand.

by the combined Indian forces, even the Wyandots and Pottawattamies breaking their treaty and treacherously joining in the assault. Dalzell's troops entered the fort and he proposed an immediate sortie. Dalzell was bravery personified, and he had fought with Israel Putnam. On the morning after his arrival (July 31) at two o'clock, he led a force of two hundred and fifty men out of the fort. They silently in the darkness marched along the river towards the Ottawa village just across the Parent's creek. The Indians were prepared and had ambuscaded both sides of the road. They were, Indian fashion, secreted behind trees and fences and Canadian houses. Their presence was not discovered till the van of Dalzell's column reached the bridge over the creek, when a terrible fire was opened upon the soldiers from all sides. It was still dark, the Indians could not be seen. A panic ensued. The troops in disorder retreated amid an awful slaughter. Dalzell himself was killed and Major Robert Rogers assumed command, and the fleeing soldiers were only spared from total destruction by two of the British boats coming to the rescue. About sixty men were killed or wounded. It was known as the Battle of Bloody Bridge. Upon the retreating into the fort of Major Rogers' survivors the siege was renewed. Pontiac was greatly encouraged over this victory and his Indians showed renewed zeal. The schooner "Gladwyn" was sent to Niagara for help. On its return it was attacked and its crew and supplies practically destroyed. Another relief expedition under Major Wilkins in September was overwhelmed in a lake storm and seventy soldiers drowned. But even Indian persistency began to tire. The realization that the French were beaten and time only would bring victory to the British led all the tribes, except the Ottawas, to sue for peace. This was October 12. Pontiac could only hold his own tribe in line. The Ottawas sustained their hostility until October 30, when a French messenger arrived from Neyon who reported to Pontiac that he must expect no help from the French, as they were now completely and permanently at peace with the British.* Pontiac was advised to quit the war at once. His cause

* True to his Indian nature Pontiac determined to assume a mask of peace and bide his time. Gladwyn wrote as follows to Lord Jeffrey Amherst: "This moment I received a message from Pontiac telling me

was doomed. The great chief who had so valiantly and unremittingly fought for six months sullenly raised the siege and retired into the country of the Maumee where he vainly endeavored to arouse the Miamis and neighboring tribes to another war upon the invading British.

Though the memorable siege of Detroit, personally conducted by Pontiac, ended in failure to the great chief, his conspiracy elsewhere met with unparalleled success. The British posts, planned to be simultaneously attacked and destroyed by the savages were some dozen in number, including besides Detroit, St. Joseph, Michillimackinac, Ouataton, Sandusky, Miami, Presque Isle, Niagara, Le Boeuf, Venango, Fort Pitt and one or two others of lesser importance. Of all the posts from Niagara and Pitt westward, Detroit alone was able to survive the conspiracy. For the rest "there was but one unvaried tale of calamity and ruin." It was a continued series of disasters to the white men. The victories of the savages marked a course of blood from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. We have already made note of the destruction of Fort Sandusky. On May 16 (1763) the Wyandots surrounded the fort and under pretense of a friendly visit, several of them well known to Ensign Paully, the commander, were admitted. While smoking the pipe of peace the treacherous and trusted Indians suddenly arose, seized Paully and held him prisoner while their tribesmen killed the sentry, entered the Fort, and in cold blood murdered and scalped the little band of soldiers. The traders in the Post were likewise killed and their stores plundered. The stockade was fired and burned to the ground. Paully was taken to Detroit where he was "adopted" as the husband of an old widowed squaw, from whose affectionate toils he finally escaped to his friends in the Detroit Fort.

St. Joseph was located at the mouth of the river St. Joseph, near the southern end of Lake Michigan.* Ensign Schlosser was in command with a mere handful of soldiers, that he should send to all the nations concerned in the war to bury the hatchet; and he hopes your excellency will forget what has passed"—Parkman.

* This post of St. Joseph was the site of a Roman Catholic Mission founded about the year 1700. Here was one of the most prominent French military posts.

fourteen in number. On the morning of May 25, the commander was informed that a large "party" of Pottawattamies had arrived from Detroit "to visit their relations" and the chief (Washashe) and three or four of his followers wished to hold a "friendly talk" with the commander. Disarmed of suspicion, the commander Ensign admitted the callers; the result is the oft repeated history. The entering Indians rushed to the gate, tomahawked the sentinel, let in their associates who instantly pounced upon the garrison, killed eleven of the soldiers, plundered the fort and later carried Schlosser and his three surviving companions, captives to Detroit.

Fort Michillimackinac was the most important point on the upper lakes, commanding as it did the straits of Mackinac, the passage from Lake Huron into Lake Michigan. Great numbers of the Chippewas, in the last of May, began to assemble in the vicinity of the Fort, but with every indication of friendliness. June 4, was the King's (George) birthday. It must be celebrated with pastimes. The discipline of the garrison, some thirty-five in number, was relaxed. Many squaws were admitted as visitors into the fort, while their "braves" engaged in their favorite game of ball just outside the garrison entrance. It was a spirited contest between the Ojibwas and Sacs. Captain George Etherington, commander of the Fort and his Lieutenant, Leslie, stood without the palisades to watch the sport. Suddenly the ball was thrown near the open gate and behind the two officers. The Indians pretending to rush for the ball instantly encircled and seized Etherington and Leslie, and crowded their way into the Fort where the squaws supplied them with tomahawks and hatchets, which they had carried in, hidden under their blankets. Quick as a flash, the instruments of death were gleaming in the sunlight and Lieutenant Jamet and fifteen soldiers and a trader were struck down never to rise. The rest of the garrison were made prisoners and five of them afterwards tomahawked. All of the peaceful traders were plundered and carried off. The prisoners were conveyed to Montreal. The French population of the Post was undisturbed. Captain Etherington succeeded in sending timely warning to the little garrison at La Bay (Green Bay); Lieutenant Gorrell the commandant

and his men were brought as prisoners to the Michillimackinac fort and thence sent with Etherington and Leslie to the Canadian capital. The little post of Ste. Marie (Sault) had been partially destroyed and abandoned. The garrison inmates had withdrawn to Michillimackinac and shared its fate.

The garrison at Ouatatonon* situated on the Wabash — (Indian Ouabache) — near the present location of Lafayette (Indiana) then in the very heart of the western forest, as planned, was to have been massacred on June 1. Through the information given by the French at the post, the soldiers were apprised of their intended fate and through the intervention of the same French friends, the Indians were dissuaded from executing their sanguinary purpose. Lieutenant Jenkins and several of his men were made prisoners by stratagem, the remainder of the garrison readily surrendered.

On the present site of Fort Wayne (Indiana) was Fort Miami† at the confluence of the rivers St. Joseph and St. Mary, which unite to form the Maumee. The Fort at this time was in charge of Ensign Holmes. On May 27, the commander was decoyed from the fort by the story of an Indian girl, that a squaw lay dangerously ill in a wigwam near the stockade, and needed medical assistance. The humane Holmes forgetting his caution on an errand of mercy, walked without the gate and was instantly shot dead. The soldiers in the palisades, seeing the corpse of their leader and hearing the yells and whoopings of the exultant Indians, offered no resistance, admitted the redmen and gladly surrendered on promise of having their lives spared.

Fort Presqu' Isle stood on the southern shore of Lake Erie at the site of the present town of Erie. The block house, an unusually strong and commodious one, was in command of Ensign Christie with a courageous and skillful garrison of twenty-seven men. Christie learning of the attack on the other posts "braced up" for his "visit from the hell hounds" as he appropriately called the enemy. He had not long to wait. On June 15,

* Also spelled Ouachtanon and Ouatanon.

† There were several forts called Miami in those early days. This one was built in 1749-50 by the French commandant Raimond. — See page 181 *supra*.

about two hundred of them put in an appearance from Detroit. They sprang into the ditch around the fort and with reckless audacity approached to the very walls and threw fire-balls of pitch upon the roof and sides of the fortress. Again and again the wooden retreat was on fire, but amid showers of bullets and arrows the flames were extinguished by the fearless soldiers. The savages rolled logs before the fort and erected strong breast works from behind which they could discharge their shots and throw their fire balls. For nearly three days a terrific contest ensued. The savages finally undermined the palisades to the house of Christie, which was at once set on fire nearly stifling the garrison with the smoke and heat for Christie's quarters were close to the block house. Longer resistance was vain, "the soldiers pale and haggard, like men who had passed through a fiery furnace, now issued from their scorched and bullet pierced stronghold." The surrendering soldiers were taken to Pontiac's quarters on the Detroit river.

Three days after the attack on Presqu' Isle, Fort Le Boeuf, twelve miles south on Le Boeuf creek, one of the head sources of the Alleghany river, was surrounded and burned. Ensign Price and a garrison of thirteen men miraculously escaped the flames and the encircling savages and endeavored to reach Fort Pitt. About half of them succeeded, the remainder died of hunger and privation by the way.*

Fort Venango, still farther south, on the Alleghany river, was captured by a band of Senecas, who gained entrance by resorting to the oft employed treachery of pretending friendliness. The entire garrison was butchered, Lieutenant Gordon the commander slowly tortured to death and the fort burned to the ground. Not a soul escaped to tell the horrible tale.

Fort Ligonier, another small post commanded by Lieutenant Archibald Blane, forty miles southeast of Fort Pitt was attacked but successfully held out till relieved by Bouquet's Expedition.

Thus within a period of about a month from the time the first blow was struck at Detroit, Pontiac was in full possession of nine out of the twelve posts so recently belonging to and, it was thought, securely occupied by the British. The fearful threat of

* Bryant's (Scribner's) History of the United States.

the great Ottawa conspirator that he would exterminate the whites west of the Alleghanies, was well nigh fulfilled. Over two hundred traders with their servants fell victims to his remorseless march of slaughter and rapine and goods estimated at over half a million dollars became the spoils of the confederated tribes.*

The result of Pontiac's widespread and successful uprising struck untold terror to the settlers along the western frontier of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The savages roused to the highest pitch of fury and weltering in the blood of their victims were burning the cabins and crops of the defenseless whites and massacring the men, women and children. Many hundreds of the forest dwellers with their families flocked to the stockades and protected posts. Particularly in the Pennsylvania country did dread and consternation prevail. The frontiersmen west of the Alleghanies fled east over the mountains to Carlisle, Lancaster and numbers even continued their flight to Philadelphia. Pontiac was making good his threat that he would drive the pale face back to the sea.

But Forts Niagara and Pitt were still in the possession of the "red coats" as the British soldiers were often called by the forest "redskins." Following the total destruction of Le Boeuf and Venango, the Senecas made an attack on Fort Niagara, an extensive work on the east side of Niagara River near its mouth as it empties into Lake Ontario. This fort guarded the access to the whole interior country by way of Canada and the St. Lawrence. The fort was strongly built and fortified and was far from the center of the country of the warpath Indians, for with the exception of the Senecas, the Iroquois tribes inhabiting eastern Canada and New York did not participate in Pontiac's conspiracy. The attack on Fort Niagara therefore was half hearted and after a feeble effort the beseigers despaired of success or assistance and abandoned the blockade, which only lasted a few days.

Fort Pitt was the British military headquarters of the western frontier. It was the Gibraltar of defense, protecting the eastern colonies from invasion by the western Indians. The consummation of Pontiac's gigantic scheme depended upon

* De Hass — Indian Wars.

the capture of Fort Pitt. It was a strong fortification at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. Its northern ramparts were faced with brick on the side looking down the Ohio. Fort Pitt stood "far aloof in the forest and one might journey eastward full two hundred miles before the English settlements began to thicken." The garrison consisted of three hundred and thirty soldiers, traders and backwoodsmen, besides about one hundred women and a greater number of children. Captain Simeon Ecuyer, a brave Swiss officer, was in command. Every preparation was made for the



COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET.

expected attack. All houses and cabins outside the palisade were levelled to the ground. A rude fire engine was constructed to extinguish any flames that might be kindled by the burning arrows of the Indians. In the latter part of May the hostile savages began to approach the vicinity of the Fort. On June 22, they opened fire "upon every side at once." The garrison replied by a discharge of howitzers, the shells of which bursting in the midst of the Indians, greatly amazed and disconcerted them. The Indians then boldly demanded a surrender of the

fort, saying vast numbers of braves were on the way to destroy it. Ecuyer displayed equal bravado and replied that several thousand British soldiers were on the way to punish the tribes for their uprising. The Fort was now in a state of siege. For about a month, "nothing occurred except a series of petty and futile attacks," in which the Indians, mostly Ottawas, Ojibwas and Delawares, did small damage. On July 26, under a flag of truce, the besiegers again demanded surrender. It was refused and Ecuyer told the savages that if they again showed themselves near the Fort he would throw "bombshells" amongst them and "blow them to atoms." The assault was continued with renewed fury.

Meanwhile Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, awakening to the gravity of the situation, ordered Colonel Bouquet, a brave and able officer in his Majesty's service, to take command of certain specified forces and proceed as rapidly as possible to the relief of Fort Pitt, and then make aggressive warfare on the western tribes. Bouquet leaving his headquarters at Philadelphia, reached Carlisle late in June, where he heard for the first time of the calamities at Presqu' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango. He left Carlisle with a force of five hundred men, some of them the pick of the British regulars, but many of them aged veterans enfeebled by disease and long severe exposure. Bouquet had seen considerable service in Indian warfare. He was not likely to be caught napping. He marched slowly along the Cumberland Valley and crept cautiously over the mountains, passing Forts Loudon and Bedford, the latter surrounded with Indians, to Fort Ligonier which as noted above, had been blockaded for weeks by the savages who, as at Bedford, fled at Bouquet's approach. On August 5th, the little army, foot sore and tired and half famished, reached a small stream within twenty-five miles of Fort Pitt, known as Bushy Run. Here in the afternoon they were suddenly and fiercely fired upon by a superior number of Indians. A terrific contest ensued, only ended by the darkness of night. The encounter was resumed next day; the odds were against the British who were surrounded and were being cut down in great numbers by the Indians who skulked behind trees and logs and in the grass and declivities. Bouquet resorted to a ruse which was signally successful. He formed his men in a wide semi-circle, and from the center advanced a company toward the enemy, the advancing company then made a feint of retreat, the deceived Indians followed close after and fell into the ambushade. The outwitted savages were completely routed and fled in hopeless confusion. Bouquet had won one of the greatest victories in western Indian warfare. His loss was about one hundred and fifty men, nearly a third of his army. The loss of the Indians was not so great. As rapidly as possible Bouquet pushed on to Fort Pitt which he entered without molestation on August 25. The extent and the end of Pontiac's con-

piracy had at last been reached. The Pennsylvania Assembly and King George, even, formally thanked Bouquet.

Forts Detroit and Pitt, as has been seen, proved impregnable, neither the evil cunning nor the persistent bravery of the savage could dislodge the occupants of those important posts. The siege of Detroit had been abandoned by the combined forces of Pontiac but the country round about continued to be infested with the hostile Indians, who kept up a sort of petty bushwacking campaign that compelled the soldiers and traders of the fort, for safety, to remain "in doors" during the winter of 1763-4. Bouquet on gaining Fort Pitt, desired to pursue the marauding and murderous savages to their forest retreats and drive them hence, but he was unable to accomplish anything until the following year.

In the spring of 1764, Sir Jeffrey Amherst resigned his office and General Thomas Gage succeeded him as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, with headquarters in Boston.* Shortly after assuming office General Gage determined to send two armies from different points into the heart of the Indian country. The first, under Bouquet, was to advance from Fort Pitt into the midst of the Delaware and Shawanee settlements of the Ohio Valley and the other under Bradstreet was to pass from Fort Niagara up the lakes and force the tribes of Detroit and the region round about to unconditioned submission.*

Colonel John Bradstreet left Fort Niagara in July 1764 with the formidable force of over a thousand soldiers. In canoes and bateaux this imposing army of British regulars coasted along the shore of Lake Erie, stopping at various points to meet and treat with the Indians, who realizing their inability to cope with so powerful an antagonist, made terms of peace, or went through the pretense of so doing. At Sandusky (Fort), particularly, Bradstreet accepted the false promises of the Wyandots, Ottawas, Miamies, Delawares and Shawanees. On August 26, he arrived at Detroit, to the great joy and relief of the garrison which now, for more than a year, had been "cut off from all communication with their race" and had been virtually prisoners confined within the walls of their stockade. Bradstreet forwarded small detach-

* Amherst's Headquarters had been at New York.

* Parkman.

ments to restore or retake, as the case might be, the farther western British posts, which had fallen into the hands of Pontiac's wily and exultant warriors.

In October (1764) Bouquet, with an army of fifteen hundred troops, defiled out of Fort Pitt and taking the Indian trail westward, boldly entered the wilderness, "which no army had ever before sought to penetrate." We cannot now follow the fortunes of this romantic and decisive campaign. It was a novel sight, this regiment of regulars, picking its way through the woods and over the streams to the center of the Ohio country. Striking the Tuscarawas river he followed down its banks, halting at short intervals to confer with delegations of Indians until October 25, when he encamped on the Muskingum near the forks of that river formed by the confluence of the Tuscarawas and Walhonding rivers.* Here with much display of the pomp and circumstances of war on the part of Bouquet to impress and overawe the savages, he held conferences with the chiefs of the various tribes. They agreed to lay down their arms and live for the future in friendship with the white invaders. All prisoners heretofore taken and then held by the Indians were to be surrendered to Bouquet. Over two hundred of these, captives, including women and children were delivered up, and with these Bouquet with his successful soldiery, retraced his course to Fort Pitt, arriving there on the 28th of November. It was one of the most memorable expeditions in the pre-state history of Ohio.

The sudden and surprising victories of Pontiac were being rapidly undone. The great Ottawa chief saw his partially accomplished scheme withering into ignominious failure. Sullen, disappointed, consumed with humiliation and revenge, he withdrew from active prominence to his forest wigwam. He sought the banks of the Maumee, scene of his birth and the location of the villages of many tribes who were his sympathetic adherents. He did not participate in any of the councils held by Bradstreet and the chiefs. "His vengeance was unslaked and his purpose unshaken." But his glory was growing dim and his power was withering into dust. From the scenes of his promising but short

* Bouquet's last encampment was near the present site of Coshocton.

lived triumphs, he retired into the country of the Illinois and the Mississippi. He tried to arouse the aid of the French. He gathered a band of four hundred warriors on the Maumee and with these faithful followers revisited the western tribes in hopes of creating another confederation.* Not even would the southern tribes respond to his appeals. All was lost. His allies were falling off, his followers, discouraged, were deserting him. Again and again he went back to his chosen haunts and former faithful followers on the Maumee. But his day had passed.

In the spring of 1766 Pontiac met Sir William Johnson ** at Oswego. In his peace speech at that time he said: "I speak in the name of all the nations westward, of whom I am the master. It is the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet here to-day; and before him I now take you by the hand. I call him to witness that I speak from my heart; for since I took Colonel Croghan† by the hand last year, I have never let go my hold, for I see that the Great Spirit will have us friends.

"Moreover, when our great father of France was in this country, I held him fast by the hand. Now that he is gone, I take you, my English Father, by the hand, in the name of all the nations, and promise to keep this covenant as long as I shall live."

But he did not speak from the heart, on the contrary only from the head. Leaving the Oswego conference "his canoe laden with the gifts of his enemy" Pontiac steered homeward for the Maumee; and in that vicinity he spent the following winter.

* Pontiac sought the aid of the Kickapoos, Piankishaws, Sacs, Foxes, Dahcotahs, Missouris and other tribes on the Mississippi and its head waters.

** Sir William Johnson was at this time Superintendent of Indian affairs in the North (of the colonies) by appointment from the King. Johnson was a great favorite with the Indians and exerted great power over them, especially among the Six Nations. He married a sister of Brant, the Mohawk chief; he was moreover adopted into the Mohawk tribe and made a Sachem.

† George Croghan was a deputy Indian agent under Sir William Johnson. In 1765, at the instance of Johnson, Croghan proceeded from Fort Pitt down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash, up which he journeyed and thence across the country to Detroit, treating with the Indians as he passed. On this journey Croghan met Pontiac who made promises of peace and friendship. Croghan died in 1782. He is not the George Croghan who figured in the siege of Fort Stephenson (1813.)

From now on for some two years the great Ottawa chief disappeared as if lost in the forest depths.

In April 1769 he is found at Fort St. Louis on the west side of the Mississippi where he gave himself mainly to the temporary oblivion of "firewater," the dread destroyer of his race. He was wont to cross the "father of waters" to the fort on the British side at Cahokia where he would revel with the friendly Creoles. In one of these visits, in the early morning, after drinking deeply he strode with uncertain step into the adjacent forest. He was arrayed in the uniform of a French officer, which apparel had been given him many years before by the Marquis of Montcalm. His footsteps were stealthily dogged by a Kaskaskia Indian, who in the silence and seclusion of the forest, at an opportune moment, buried the blade of a tomahawk in the brain of the Ottawa conqueror, the champion of his race. The murderer had been bribed to the heinous act by a British trader named Williamson who thought to thus rid his country (England) of a dangerous foe. The unholy price of the assassination was a barrel of liquor.* It was supposed the Illinois, Kaskaskia, Peoria and Cahokia Indians were more or less guilty as accomplices in the horrible deed. That an Illinois Indian was guilty of the act was sufficient. The Sacs and Foxes and other western tribes friendly to Pontiac and his cause, were aroused to furious revenge. They went upon the warpath against the Illinois Indians. A relentless war ensued, and says Parkman, "over the grave of Pontiac more blood was poured out in atonement, than flowed from the veins of the slaughtered heroes on the corpse of Patroclus."

The body of the murdered chief was borne across the river and buried near Fort St. Louis. No monument ever marked the resting place of the great hero and defender of his people.

Pontiac came "to open the purple testament of bleeding war" and he gave his

"Large kingdom for a little grave,
A little little grave, an obscure grave."

* There are various accounts of the death of Pontiac. The one related by Parkman is here followed.

THE GATEWAYS TO FORT ANCIENT.

BY THOS. J. BROWN.

During a recent visit to Fort Ancient, after a period of several years, I was greatly impressed by the improvements that have taken place there since I have been acquainted with the fort. My visits to it were begun forty-seven years ago, and have been repeated at short intervals until late years, then not so often.

When I first saw it, and continuing until about the time the State acquired title to it, it was one of the most neglected and uninviting tracts of land that ever came under my notice in Ohio, except for its historic associations it was very undesirable property indeed. It was, except a small tract near the road, a tangled thicket of trees, bushes, (principally briars), logs, weeds, etc. I believe it had more blackberry bushes on it than any other tract of equal size in the county. I have known people to drive 14 or 15 miles to it to gather blackberries, and feel well repaid for their trouble. The blackberry bushes have disappeared, with most of the undesirable undergrowth. Logs, brush, weeds and stones are also gone or have been applied to useful purposes. Those dreadful washes which were working back farther and farther within the ramparts from year to year have been arrested in their work of destruction and in some cases at least seem to be in a measure an element of beauty. Still the work of restoration is not completed. The few acres to the north of the public road ought to be added to the rest, and the road should be turned out of its present track through the fort and be directed to another alongside the hollow which bounds the fort along the north, until it gets beyond the fort. The main entrances to the fort would of course remain where they are, but they would then be private ones. The strip referred to would add greatly to the fine appearance and "business like" purposes of the fort. Although the ramparts along the north side are in no place more than a few rods from the road, they are so smothered with undergrowth and unshapely trees

that they are not in sight of the road, and are hard to follow. If that tract were acquired by the State and put under the care of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, along with the rest, it would soon be made very attractive.

In reading descriptions of Fort Ancient we notice constant allusion to its numerous "gateways," and these are generally coupled with expression of wonder that there should be so many. Now I have made these "gateways" my special study during my whole acquaintance with it. I have walked the whole length of the ramparts and counted every footstep and every gap, and carefully noted the distance of these gaps apart, and long ago concluded that there are but about five bona-fide gateways, the rest being intended rather for points of defense than for places of ingress and egress. The earthen ramparts would afford little protection to the defenders in case an assault were made upon them. The inside slopes are as steep as the outside and afford no suitable standpoint, so the defenders' bodies would be protected and yet give him opportunity to see over the rampart. If he stood upon the top he would be even a better target for the assailants than they would be for him. I consider it necessary to conclude that each of these gaps was occupied with a blockhouse reaching out beyond the wall, forming a bastion from which defenders could enfilade the outside of the ramparts most effectually. The distance of these gaps apart is in no case too great to serve this purpose, and if we consider it in this way, the whole outside of the walls could be defended with very little exposure on the part of the defenders. There was evidently one gateway where the public road now enters from each side, and one at the extreme farthest end of the "old fort," one near the middle of the north side, and one most likely on the west side opening from the peninsula, and one nearly opposite on the east side. The rest of these gaps were intended merely to give opportunity for introducing blockhouses at proper distances and in proper positions for defense, and may have been supplied with small wickets, easily closed and easily defended. Even the acknowledged gateways were probably built in the same general way, but with the portal idea unmistakable and prominent.

Having appreciated the value of Fort Ancient so long, as a memorial of the mysterious Mound Builders, and having seen such marked progress in the way of preserving it, it is particularly trying and annoying to me to see such a small, and yet such an important portion of the fort still outside the ownership and jurisdiction of the State and Archæological Society as the strip north of the road. The amount probably necessary to acquire it would be so little to the State—now out of debt—that it looks unpardonable that it should be neglected any longer, the public road should be turned around as intimated before, so as to throw the works all within one enclosure.

Let us hope that before another year has passed the few remaining acres may be added, and all will be safe.

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E. O. Randall

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GEORGE BOHAN. WRIGHT.

General George B. Wright one of the oldest, most widely known and highly esteemed citizens of Ohio, died at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Frank C. Eaton, Columbus, Ohio, on September 11, 1903.



GEORGE BOHAN WRIGHT.

General Wright's life was one, save in his last years, of incessant and intense activity and most successful achievement. His parents were of the best New England stock, and emigrated from Massachusetts to Ohio in 1808. Both his grandfathers were soldiers in the Colonial army during the war for American Independence. His father was a soldier in the war of 1812. General Wright therefore descended from an ancestry distinguished for patriotism and bravery. He was the youngest member of a family of five children, two sisters and three brothers. He was born, and spent his boyhood like so many Ohioans who have attained honor and high position, upon a farm. This one was located near Granville, Licking county, this state, and there

on December 11, 1815, George B. Wright first saw the light of day. General Wright was mainly a self-made man. From the time of his birth until he was twenty-four years of age he lived at home, attending district school during the winter months and working upon his father's farm and in his tannery. From 1835 to 1839 he was accorded the privileges of an excellent private school and a village academy. In the latter year he entered the freshman class of Western Reserve College, then located at Hudson, Ohio, and now known as the Western Reserve University of Cleveland. At the end of the freshman year he left the college at Hudson, and by reason of unusual proficiency in his studies he was admitted to the senior class of Ohio University at Athens. Here he completed the academic course. Upon leaving college he became a student

of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1843, and immediately began active practice upon his chosen vocation at Newark, Ohio. He at once showed especial ability and aptness in his profession, and became in a short time the attorney for the three corporations then constructing railroads which were to pass through Newark, viz: The Sandusky, Mansfield & Newark, The Central Ohio, and The Steubenville & Indiana. In two of these companies he became a stockholder and officer. In 1857 he was appointed receiver and general manager of The Sandusky, Mansfield & Newark Railroad Company, which position he retained until May, 1861, when he was called to Columbus by Governor William Dennison to assist in equipping and sending to the field Ohio soldiers for the Union Army. He entered the quartermaster's department as first lieutenant, and was rapidly promoted until he reached the head of the department and was made quartermaster general of the state, with the rank of brigadier general. This responsible position he occupied until 1864, discharging its duties with conspicuous fidelity and business fact, and disbursing in the department from three to five millions of dollars, all of which was done without the loss or discrepancy of a single cent. In the meantime he was appointed colonel of the 106th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, but was not permitted to go into the field, as he greatly desired, but was detailed on duty at Columbus, and in addition to his duties as quartermaster general, he was appointed by President Lincoln an ordinance officer, and placed in charge of the Columbus Barracks, and superintended the construction of the first buildings employed for that purpose at the state capital. In 1867 he was appointed by Governor Joseph D. Cox the first commissioner of railroads and telegraphs in Ohio. He was reappointed to this office by Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, discharging the duties of this position for some three years, and receiving great praise for the methods he adopted in the management of this important state department. His compilation of the laws regulating railroads and telegraphs and the history of their lines then in operation or projected was printed in a separate volume and had wide circulation throughout the country and was highly appreciated and valued by the officials of the railroad companies and the lawyers of the state. In 1871 he resigned the commissionership of railroads and telegraphs to accept the office of vice-president of The Atlantic & Great Western Railroad Company, of which General George B. McClellan was president. When he was in that position he had charge of the legal work of the railroad, with his headquarters at Meadville, Pennsylvania. After two years service in that capacity, he resigned this position (1873), and was made receiver of The Indianapolis, Bloomington & Western Railroad Company of Indiana and Illinois. This position he held until 1880, when the road was sold, and the company reorganized. His headquarters during this time were in Indianapolis, where he remained until 1887, when he returned to his former home in Columbus.

Since 1887, when General Wright retired from active business, he resided at Columbus, enjoying the companionship of his children, grandchildren and innumerable friends. In 1846 General Wright married Miss Netta A. Taylor of Newark, a most attractive and accomplished young lady. From this most happy union four children survive: Mrs. Colonel James Kilbourne, Mrs. Frank C. Eaton, of Columbus; Miss Helen Wright, in charge of the Art department of the Congressional Library at Washington, D. C.; and Mr. James Wright, who is engaged in the railroad business at Macon, Georgia. The wife of general Wright died many years ago.

The above are the bare facts in the chief events of General Wright's industrious and conspicuous career. They suggest in themselves the unceasing activity of his life, the loyalty and devotion to his country and state, the honor and character of the man, and the unusual esteem and confidence of those who occupied the highest positions in the nation and state. His ambition was of the purest and most unselfish kind. He employed his great opportunities not for his own preferment or renown but singly with the view of serving his fellow men, and faithfully discharging every responsibility that was placed upon him. Not even was he tempted during that period when temptation was great and too often made available by the avaricious and unscrupulous, to acquire riches. With all his golden opportunities he lived and died comparatively a poor man. During his laborious and responsible employment by the state, he received but a modest salary, and as evidence of the recognition of his faithful services in that critical period, the seventy-fourth general assembly endeavored to make partial recompense for his inadequate pay by appropriating (April 16, 1900), a sum in further compensation.

General Wright was possessed of a remarkably cheerful disposition and hopeful temperament. His chief delight was in intellectual enjoyments, the history and literature of the past, as well as the live topics of the day and the association of congenial and high-minded friends. He was a great reader, and had, by close acquaintance with the choicest spirits of other times and peoples, stored his mind with a wealth of poetic and literary lore. With remarkable facility and tenacity of memory even to his last days he could repeat lengthy poems and passages from the masterpieces of English and classical literature. He was a man of the most optimistic and uplifting philosophy, and held fast to the firmest faith in the pervading rule of an all-wise Providence, and the final rightful outcome of all human affairs. He had the urbanity and dignity but gentle and gracious manner of a gentleman of the old school, always kindly and sympathetic, ever thoughtful and considerate of the feelings and comfort of others: and he was a thrice welcome guest equally in the circles of the old and the young.

He was, at the time of his death, the oldest living member of his college fraternity, the Beta Theta Pi, and was frequently the most hon-

ored guest at their gatherings and re-unions. He was a member of the military order of the Loyal Legion of the Grand Army of the Republic, and of the Sons of the American Revolution, being president of the Benjamin Franklin Chapter, (Columbus, Ohio), at the time of his death.

General Wright for many years past had taken an active part in the work of The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society. He was a life member. February 25, 1897, Governor Asa Bushnell appointed General Wright trustee of the Society to fill out the term made vacant by the decease of Judge William J. Gilmore. March 30, 1898, Governor Bushnell appointed Mr. Wright trustee for the full term of three years and at its expiration, April 5, 1901, Governor George K. Nash appointed the general for another full term which would have continued until February 18, 1904. Upon the death, June 5, 1899, of Rev. William E. Moore, first vice president of the Society, General Wright was elected to that office and was continued therein to the time of his death. As member, trustee and vice-president, General Wright ever took the keenest and liveliest interest in the work of the Society and the details of its affairs. No one was more faithful in attendance upon the public gatherings or the meetings of the trustees. His decease is a decided loss to the Society as well as to the community in which he lived.

The writer of these lines was especially indebted to General Wright for a long and most loyal friendship. It was a pleasure and a profit to be in his presence and many a delightful hour was passed in his companionship. His kindly deeds and sunny disposition will not fade from our memory. Though he had been spared nearly two decades beyond the allotted span of man, three score years and ten, yet seemed he to have drank at the font of perennial youth for his days of the "sere and yellow leaf" were serene and bright: his was —

"An age that melts in unperceived decay,
And glides in modest innocence away."

LIST OF LIFE MEMBERS OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY WHO HAVE BEEN ELECTED AND WHO HAVE
QUALIFIED SINCE JULY 1, 1901.

Gen. Thomas M. Anderson, Sandusky.
Hon. Martin B. Bushnell, Mansfield.
Mr. Clarence Brown, Toledo.
Mr. A. J. Baughman, Mansfield.
Prof. Frank T. Cole, Columbus.
Hon. Albert Douglas, Chillicothe.
Mrs. Jessie Myer Davis, Columbus.
Major W. F. Goodspeed, Columbus.

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Col. Webb C. Hayes, Fremont.
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Mr. Harry P. Wolfe, Columbus.
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INDEX.

A	
	PAGE
Abolition, Achilles Pugh publishes paper on.....	305
Scotch-Irish sentiment on.....	297
"A Century of Statehood," Address, Nash.....	25
"Acolhuans, The," Review of.....	104
Adams, John Q., Jeremy Bentham's works presented to Ohio by....	365
On Worthington, Thomas.....	357
Addresses —	
"A Century of Statehood," Nash.....	25
"George Croghan," Williams.....	375
"Greatness of Ohio," Watson.....	310
Kossuth before Ohio Legislature.....	114
Manly at Centennial Celebration.....	1
McClintick at Centennial Celebration.....	6
"The First Constitution," Ryan.....	11
Yaple, at Centennial Celebration.....	3
"Adena," Worthington moves to	348
Agriculture, Growth of in Ohio.....	27
Society of, in Scioto Valley.....	370
Allen, William, Scotch-Irish ancestry of.....	305
"American Indians," Leonard's lecture before <i>Society</i> on.....	215
Americanists, Ft. Ancient visited by.....	97, 190
Amherst, Sir Jeffrey, Gen. Gage succeeds.....	434
Sends Bouquet to relieve Ft. Pitt.....	433
"Ancient works at Marietta," MacLean	37
Anti-Federalists, Position of, on Ohio's admission.....	19
Archæological Exhibit, <i>Society's</i>	217
Archæological History of Ohio," Criticism on.....	214
Morehead's Review of (See Fowke).....	326
Archæology, Hopewell copper ornaments.....	317
"Are the Hopewell copper objects Prehistoric?" Moorehead.....	317
Armstrong, Col. Wm., "The greatest living man," by.....	105
Arnold, Benedict, Army of, in Cornwallis' Surrender.....	232
Tory leadership of.....	231
Atwater, Caleb, Marietta earthworks surveyed by.....	44
Mention of	328

B	
Banks, Taxing system of in 1815.....	360
Baptists, first in Ohio.....	243

	PAGE
Baughman, A. J., "The Divide".....	160
Baum Village, Curator's work in.....	215
Beatty, Gen. John, "The Acolhuans" by.....	104
Belpre, Earthworks at.....	62
Bentham, Jeremy, Works of, presented to Ohio.....	365
Bibliography of Kentucky Revival.....	282
Bibliography of Scotch-Irish.....	309
Bienville, Celoren De, Expedition of.....	410
"Bill of Rights," Ohio's.....	311
Changes made in.....	21
Blast furnaces, Invention of.....	307
Books —	
"American Antiquities," Priest.....	57
"American Philosophical Society," Marietta earthworks de- scribed by	41
"Ancient Monuments in the Mississippi Valley".....	58, 306
"Archæological History of Ohio," Review of.....	324
"Biographical and Historical memories of the early settlers of Ohio," Hildreth	46
"Butterfield Mss." presented to <i>Society</i>	188
History of the Maumee Valley.....	122
"Journal of a Tour".....	42
"Life of Napoleon".....	300
"Life of Washington".....	300
"Memoirs of American Arts and Sciences".....	42
"Ohio and the Western Reserve," Mathews.....	101
Ohio Centennial, Souvenir, Volume of.....	189
"Pioneer history of the Ohio Valley," Hildreth.....	46
"Poets and poetry of the West".....	30
"The Acolhuans"	104
"The greatest living man," Review of.....	105
"The Treaty of Greenville," Wilson.....	128
"Western Antiquities," Atwater.....	44
Boone Daniel, visits Paint Creek Indians.....	176
Boston, Evacuation of.....	227
Bouquet, Col. Henry, Expedition of.....	430-435
Goes to relieve Ft. Pitt.....	433
Portrait of	432
Bowman, Capt. Cahokia campaign, in.....	77
Expedition of and mention of.....	322
Vincennes campaign, in	87
Braddock, Gen. Commands at Ft. Duquesne.....	411
Defeat of	411
Bradstreet, Col. John, Expedition of, into Indian country.....	434

	PAGE
Brass, found in mounds.....	57
British, Detroit post of.....	83
Influence of, on Indians.....	293
Loyalists in army of.....	228
Policy of, in Revolution.....	68
Wyoming Massacre, in.....	102
Brotherton, Alice Williams, Poem, "The Buckeye".....	180
Brown, Ethan Allen, elected Governor of Ohio.....	368
Elected U. S. Senator for Ohio.....	370
Brown Thos. J. "Kenton's <i>Chillicothe</i> ".....	322
"The Gateways to Fort Ancient".....	438
Butler's Rangers, Wyoming Massacre, in.....	102
"Buckeye, The," Poem, Brotherton.....	180
Burials at Baum Village.....	216
At Gartner's Mound.....	216
Burnet, Jacob, Recollections of.....	7
Burr, Aaron, Tiffin arrests.....	15
Bushy Run, Battle of.....	433
Butterfield, Consul Wiltshire. "Clark's campaign," by.....	188

C

Cahokia. Bowman's campaign to.....	77
Fall of	78
Map of Bowman's March to.....	90
Mound at	78
Campbell, Alexander, Ancestry of.....	297
Camp Meetings in "Kentucky Revival".....	246
Campbellites (See New Lights or Christians).....	277
Canada, Invasion of.....	225
Refugees to and from.....	219
Canal Navigation, Scheme for.....	350
Canals, Ohio asked to help build Erie.....	362-364
Worthington on	371
Capital of Ohio removed to Columbus.....	360
Capitol Square, Improvement of.....	361
Cary, Alice and Phoebe, Mention of.....	30
Cass, Lewis, in Harrison's Army.....	388
Celoron, Fort Miami visited by.....	120
Centennial Celebration, Acceptation Speech at (Ohio's First Constitution)	3
Distinguished visitors at.....	5
Memorial Hall exercises at.....	5
Presentation of tablet at.....	1
Ryan's address at	11
Centennial Commission, Ohio Day in Schools provided for, by.....	186

	PAGE
Centennial Syllabus. <i>Society</i> prepares for schools.....	198
"Centennial tribute to Ohio," Poem, Hopley.....	181
Centennial, Ohio's admission.....	310
Central America, Mounds in	53
Chalcedony, Found in Hopewell Mounds.....	318
Chase, Salmon P., Ancestry of.....	307
Chiefs. At Greenville Treaty.....	130
Blue Jacket	169
Crane, Speech of.....	130-133
Leatherlips	30
Little Turtle, Speech of.....	130-131
Chillicothe, Agricultural <i>Society</i> at.....	370
Bar of, in 1840.....	10
Capital of Ohio.....	311-345
Capital of N. W. Territory.....	2
Centennial of Ohio's first Constitution at.....	1
Distinguished sons of.....	4
Hamilton County, in.....	342
Immigration to	14
Ladies of, present flag to Croghan.....	393-409
Laid out	12
Ohio Centennial at	193
"Refugee Lands" attached to land office of.....	239
Scotch-Irish Governors buried at.....	305
<i>Society</i> makes appropriation for Centennial at.....	200
Chillicothe Centennial. View of tablet unveiled at.....	24
<i>Chillicothe</i> . (The Indian " <i>Chillicothe</i> ")	
Frankfort at	168
Kenton's	322
Little Miami, on.....	168
Location of	167-323
McDonald's account	170
McFarland's idea of.....	172
Westfall, at	167-172
Xenia, near	173
" <i>Chillicothes</i> ," Morgan-McFarland controversy on.....	167
"Christian" Church (See New Lights)	
Barton Stone's influence on.....	277
Doctrinal discussion of.....	255-256
Growth of	260
Miami Valley, in.....	263
Organization of	257-258-259
Present extent of, in Ohio.....	262
Shaker inroads on.....	261

	PAGE
Churches, "Christian"	254
Cumberland Presbyterian	253
Cincinnati, First in.....	298
Ohio, First in.....	243
Ohio in 1800.....	243
Shakerism in the West.....	263
Unitarianism	274
Universalism	274
Cincinnati, First church in.....	298
Growth of	26
View of, 1802.....	257
Circleville, Earthworks at.....	37
Cities (Ohio) General law for.....	26
Growth of	25
Civil War, Gov. Dennison, on Ohio's place in.....	315
Ohio men in.....	315
Clark, Geo. Rogers, Ancestry of.....	292
Army of.....	72-74
"Butterfield Mss." of campaign of.....	188
Confers with Patrick Henry.....	70
Floats down Mississippi.....	86
Fort Sackville taken by.....	91
Hamilton, Col. parleys with, at Vincennes	92
Indians treated with.....	82
Kaskaskia campaign	74
March to Vincennes.....	86
Miami <i>Chillicothe</i> attacked by.....	174
Militia organized by.....	71-72
Portrait of	67
Relative to Croghan	382
Result of conquest by.....	94
Sketch of	68
Suffering of army of.....	87
Vincennes re-captured by	85
Vincennes taken by.....	80
Virginia Legislature compliments.....	93
Voyage down Ohio.....	73
"Clark's Conquest of the Northwest," Randall.....	67
Clark's Grant	72
Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Annual Dinner of.....	25
Cleveland, Growth of.....	26
Clinton, DeWitt visits Ohio.....	372
Cole, Frank T. "Thomas Worthington".....	339
Colleges, built by Scotch-Irish.....	290

	PAGE
Colleges — Concluded.	
Ohio's	312
Columbus, becomes State Capital.....	360
Growth of	26
"Refugee Tract," in	219
Commerce, Ohio's progress in	312
Connecticut, Ohio influenced by.....	101
Constitutional Convention, (First) of Ohio.....	19
Meeting of	347
Men in	23
Recommendations for new.....	22
Worthington tries to secure new.....	371
Constitution (First) Centennial of.....	1
Adoption and influence of	11
Not submitted to people.....	19
Views of Jefferson on.....	21
Weak place in	22
Constitutions submitted to the people.....	20
Constitutions not submitted to the people.....	20
Copper, Axes of.....	319
Designs of ornaments of.....	319
Found at Baum Village.....	216
Hopewell Mounds at.....	318
Mound Builders utilize.....	57
Pre-Columbian origin of, in mounds.....	320
Prehistoric	317
Sheets of, found in mounds.....	319
Tools of	53
Cornwallis, surrender of.....	232
Corwin, Thomas, Mention of.....	313
Courts, Gov. St. Clair appoints (See Judiciary).....	2
Creighton, William, Jr. Recollections of.....	7
Croghan George, Ancestry of.....	381
Army life of.....	395
Army officers justify disobedience of.....	405-408
Battle of Ft. Stephenson reported by.....	391
Battle of Tippecanoe in.....	385
Birth and childhood of	383-384
Captain in army.....	385
Character of	384
Children of	393
Chillicothe ladies present flag to.....	400
College life of	384
Congratulations to	393

Croghan, George — Concluded.	PAGE
Congress presents medal to.....	396
Death of	396
First military duty of	386
Ft. Meigs, at	386
Ft. Stephenson strengthened by.....	387
Harrison orders to burn Ft. Stephenson.....	388
Harrison relieves, at Ft. Stephenson	388
Jackson's anecdote concerning.....	395
Letter of, to Chillicothe ladies for flag.....	409
Letter of, to Harrison.....	399-400
Marriage of	394
Mexican War, in.....	396
Official report of Battle by	404
Portrait of	375
Promoted to Major.....	387
Relative to George Rogers Clark.....	382
Sketch of	375
View of monument to, at Fremont.....	398
Croghan, Col. Geo. Sir William Johnson's agent.....	436
Cumberland Presbyterians, Growth of, in Miami Valley.....	254
Origin of	253
Cumberland Road	353
Currency, Worthington recommends laws for.....	366-370
Curry, Otway D., "Hesperian" edited by.....	30
Curry, Wm. L. "Wyandotte Chief, Leatherlips".....	30
Cuyler Lieut., sent to aid Detroit.....	424
D.	
Dalzell, Capt. Jas., comes to rescue of Detroit.....	426
Daughters of Revolution, Tablet at Chillicothe presented by.....	2
"Dayton Daughters of American Revolution," Randall.....	329
Work of	330
Davis, Jefferson, Ancestry of.....	309
Democracy, Kossuth on.....	114
Dennison, Gov. on Ohio's place in Civil War.....	315
De Beaujeau, Capt., Commands French at Braddock's defeat.....	411
Delawares, Signature of at Greenville Treaty.....	147
Detroit,, Aid comes in siege of.....	425
Bradstreet comes to relief of	434
Lieut. Cuyler sent to aid of	424
Plan for defense of, in Pontiac's siege.....	422
Pontiac's plan for capture of.....	420
Pontiac raises siege of.....	427
Siege of	422
Settlement and Fort at.....	417

	PAGE
DeWitt S., Survey of Marietta earthworks by.....	59
Divide, The	160
Dudley, Col. Regiment of, attacked.....	387
Dunmore's War	68
Duquesne, Ft., Building of.....	411

E.

Earthworks (See Mound Builders).

Atwater's survey of, at Marietta.....	44
Belpre, at	62
Bishop Madison's opinion of	44
Cahokia, at,	78
Central America, in.....	53
Circleville, at	37
Covered way at Marietta.....	55
Destruction of, at Marietta.....	37
Earth required for	57
First description of, at Marietta.....	39
Frankfort, at	320
Gateways at Ft. Ancient	437
Graded Way, investigated by MacLean.....	214
Hildreth's description of, at Marietta.....	46
Hopewell	317
Marietta, at	37
Marietta Conical Mound.....	49
Marietta, Summary of, at.....	64
Mississippi Valley	53
Parkersburg, at	62
Plan of, at, Marietta.....	40
Pottery found in.....	48
Priest's description of, at Marietta.....	57
Putnam's view of, at Marietta.....	45
Squier and Davis' description of, Marietta.....	58
"The Acolhuans," on.....	104
Toledo	125
<i>Via Sacra</i> , view of.....	56
Wells near	61
Ecuyer, Capt. Simeon, Commandant at Ft. Pitt.....	432
Edison, Thomas A. Pamphlet on.....	106
Editorialana —	
Americanists at Ft. Ancient.....	97
"Dayton Daughters of the American Revolution".....	329
"Farrar's Ground Hog Speech".....	331
"Homes of Ohio Governors".....	330
"Hon. Charles P. Griffin".....	99

Editorialana — Concluded.	PAGE
"Ohio and the Western Reserve".....	101
"Ohio Day in the Public Schools," Randall.....	185
"Ohio Sons of the American Revolution".....	337
"The Acolhuans".....	104
"The Greatest Man an Ohioan".....	105
"The Heroes of Ft. Meigs".....	333
Education, Constitutional basis of, in Ohio,.....	311-312
Scotch-Irish interest in.....	298
Worthington's recommendation for system of.....	362-364-366-369
English, Character of colonies of.....	67
Claims of, in New World.....	410
Erie Canal, Ohio asked to help build.....	362-364
Ewing, Thomas, Mention of.....	299

F.

Fallen Timbers, Battle of.....	122
"Farrar's Ground Hog Speech," Editorial, Randall.....	331
Federalists, Position of, on Ohio's admission.....	19
Filson, John, Teacher-historian	298
Finley, Rev. J. B., Ministerial work of.....	301
Fitch, John, Steam engine model by in <i>Museum</i>	218
Flags, Ohio	29
Flint Ridge, Chalcedony from.....	318
Indians at	325
Fowke, on	328
Forests, Scioto Valley, in	12
Fort Ancient, "Acolhuans" at.....	105
Americanists visit	97, 191
Former appearance of	438
Gateways to	438
Society cares for	190
Fort Duquesne, Capture of	414
Fort Industry, Erection of.....	126
Hopkins makes draught of.....	127
Location of	122, 126
Fort Le Boeuf, Indians capture, in Pontiac's Conspiracy.....	430
Fort Ligonier, Indians attack, in Pontiac's Conspiracy.....	430
Fort Meigs, Appeal to make purchase of.....	333
Col. Miller at	306
Condition of burial ground at	335
Government sells	334
Heroes of	333
Location of	333
Massacre of	334

Fort Meigs — Concluded.	PAGE
Siege of	386
Soldiers buried at	335
Worthington visits in disguise.....	354
Fort Miami, Capture of	121, 429
Celorón visits	120
Surrender of	121
Fort Michillimackinac, Indians capture	428
Fort Niagara, Indians attack, in Pontiac's Conspiracy.....	431
Fort Pitt, Bouquet sent to relieve.....	433
Importance of	432
Indians attack, in Pontiac's Conspiracy.....	432
Indians at siege of	432
Fort Presque Isle, Indians capture in Pontiac's Conspiracy.....	430
Fort Sandusky, Destruction of	427
Fort Stanwix, Battle of	225
Fort Stephenson, Anniversary of battle of.....	375
Battle of	389
Croghan defends	380, 381
Croghan in charge of	387
Croghan reports on battle of.....	391, 404
Harrison reports battle of	401
Result of battle of	393
Scene at battle of.....	390
Fort Venango, Indians capture in Pontiac's Conspiracy.....	430
Fort Wayne, Fort Miami at.....	120
Forts, Industry	126
Maumee	120
Mentioned in Northwest	123
Miami	120
"Forts Miami and Fort Industry," Slocum.....	120
Foster, Stephen, Songwriter	305
Fowke, Gerard, Age of trees, on.....	327
Dogmatism of, in book.....	326
Flint Ridge, on.....	328
Mention of	317
Moorehead's review of book of.....	326
Opinion on Mound Builders.....	324
Review of book of.....	324
Sarcasm in book of.....	325
Work in building mounds.....	327
"Fowke's Book Again," Review of, in <i>Nation</i>	324
Frankfort, <i>Chillicothe</i> at.....	168
Mounds at	320
Fremont (Ohio) Croghan monument at.....	398

	PAGE
French, Cahokia, at.....	79
Claims of, at close of French and Indian War.....	414
Expected to aid Pontiac.....	424
Fort Duquesne built by.....	411
Kaskaskia, at	76
La Salle's exploration	107
Mississippi Valley, in	67
Settlements of, in Mississippi Valley.....	67
Vincennes, at	80
French and Indian War, First battle of.....	411
Principal events of	413
Result of	414

G.

Gage, Gen. Thomas, Braddock's defeat, in.....	412
Succeeds Amherst	434
Gates, Horatio, Braddock's defeat, in.....	412
Gallagher, Wm. D., "Hesperian," edited by.....	30
Gallatin Albert, Mention of	288
"George Croghan," Williams	375
"General Joseph Kerr," Gilmore.....	164
Germans, Long Rifle introduced into Ohio, by.....	309
Gettysburg, Scotch-Irish at battle of.....	291
Gibault, Father, Jesuit	77, 79
Giddings, Joshua R., Ancestry of.....	307
Gilmore, Wm., "General Joseph Kerr".....	164
Gilmore, Wm. J., trustee, mentioned.....	444
Girty, Simon, Mention of	294
Gist, Christopher, Expedition of.....	410
Gladwyn, Major Henry, Commandant at Detroit.....	420
Portrait of	424
Governors of Ohio, Recollections of.....	6
Graded Way in Pike County, Committee to investigate.....	214
Grant, U. S., Ancestry of.....	309
"Greatest living man," Armstrong.....	105
"Greatness of Ohio," Watson	310
Greenville, Treaty of	128
American Signature to	157
Boundary line fixed by.....	138
Cessions made by United States.....	139
Free passage to Americans allowed.....	140
Indian demands at.....	134
Indian right to lands.....	142
Indian tribes in	129
Land cessions of	138

Greenville — Concluded.	PAGE
Money paid to various tribes.....	141
Prisoners exchanged at	129
Signing of	136
Signature of Indians	145
Trade rights with Indians.....	143
Griffin, Chas. P., Death of.....	211
Portrait and sketch of	99
Ground Hog, Farrar's speech on.....	331

H

Halstead, Murat, Ancestry of.....	306
Hamilton, Col. Henry, Commandant at Detroit.....	70
Parleys with Clark at Vincennes.....	92
Vincennes recaptured by	83
Harding, J. M. Poem, "The Centennial Ode".....	182
Harmar, Gen. Indian expedition of.....	174
Marietta earthworks described by.....	39
Harris, Dr. Thaddeus, Marietta earthworks described by.....	42
Harrison, W. H., Aide to Wayne.....	130
Correspondence with Croghan.....	388-400
Croghan's letter to.....	399
Ft. Meigs, at.....	386
General of the Northwest.....	386
Opinion of Marietta earthworks.....	61
Orders Croghan to burn Ft. Meigs.....	388
Pays tribute to Croghan.....	392
Recollection of	7
Report to War Dep't. Battle Ft. Stephenson.....	401
Volunteers called for, by.....	385
Hawkins, Sir John, Journey of, through America.....	321
Hayes, R B., Residence of.....	378
Heart, Capt. Jonathan, Death of.....	42
Marietta earthworks described by.....	39-41
Henderson, Richard, Transylvania settled by.....	69
Henry, Patrick, Clark commissioned by.....	70-71
"Hesperian of the West," Publication of.....	30
Hildreth, S. P., Marietta earthworks described by.....	46-48
"Homes of Ohio Governors," Editorial, Randall.....	330
Hopewell copper objects, Discussion of.....	317
Hopewell Mounds, Altars of clay on.....	317
Antiquity of	317
Copper found at.....	318
"Foreign material" found at.....	318
Hopkins, Col. O. J., Draught of Ft. Industry, by.....	127

	PAGE
Hopley, John, Poem, "Centennial Tribute to Ohio".....	181
Hughes, Rev. Joseph, "fiddling" minister.....	298
Hull, Gen. Surrender of.....	386
Hunter, W. H., "Butterfield Mss. presented to <i>Society</i> by.....	183

I

Illinois, Clark's capture of.....	74-83
Illustrations	
"Ancient works after De Witt," Marietta	59
"Ancient works after Whittlesly," Marietta.....	61, 63
Barton W. Stone.....	278
Cincinnati in 1802.....	257
Col. Henry Bouquet.....	432
Conical Mound, Marietta.....	65
Croghan, George	375
Croghan Medal	396
Croghan Monument	398
<i>Fac Simile</i> of invitations, Ohio Centennial.....	195
First church in Ohio.....	243
Fort Sackville at Vincennes.....	58
George Rogers Clark.....	67
Gladwyn, Henry	424
Griffin, Charles P.....	99
Leatherlips' Monument	30
Manly, Robert W.....	2
Marietta Conical Mound.....	49
Marietta earthworks, Putnam.....	45
Marietta truncated pyramid.....	51
McClintick, Wm. T.....	6
Meeting of Major Rogers and Pontiac.....	416
Mound in Mound Cemetery, Marietta.....	38
Nash, George K.....	25
"New" Malta-McConnelsville River Bridge.....	96
Ohio Flag.....	29
"Old Betsey"	394
"Old" Malta-McConnelsville River Bridge.....	95
Plan of Marietta earthworks.....	40
Pontiac	410, 419
Ryan, Daniel J.....	11
Scene at Battle Ft. Stephenson.....	390
Spiegel Grove	378
Tablet unveiled at Chillicothe Centennial.....	24
<i>Via Sacra</i> , Marietta	56
Worthington, Eleanor	352
Worthington, Thomas	344

	PAGE
Impeachment, Cases in Ohio Judiciary.....	22
Indiana Territory, Organization of.....	348
Indians, (See Pontiac) (See Chiefs) Aid British in Revolution.....	70, 224
Attack Bouquet at Bushy Run.....	433
Battle of Ft. Stephenson, in	402
Boone and Kenton attack, on Paint Creek.....	177
Bouquet's treaty with	435
British influence over	293
Clark treats with in Northwest Campaign.....	82
Expeditions against	174
Fort Joseph attacked by.....	427
Fort Michillimackinac captured by.....	428
Forts destroyed in Pontiac's conspiracy by.....	427
Greenville treaty with	128
Kenton captured by	178
Language of	31
Massacre of Moravians.....	295
Method of burial of	320
Noted fighters of	294
Ohio's tribes of.....	31, 325
Oppose English possession	417
Paint Creek, on	170
Pontiac arouses	420
Pontiac's tribes of.....	415
Population of, in Northwest	414
Ross County, in	169
Side with French	413
Signature of, at Greenville Treaty.....	145
Simon Kenton kills	176
Title to land in Northwest Ohio extinguished.....	364
Tribes of, in Braddock's defeat.....	412
Tribes of, in Pontiac's Confederacy.....	422
Withdraw from Pontiac's Confederacy.....	425
Wyoming massacre by.....	102
Industry, Fort	120
Erection of	126
Internal improvements, agitated for.....	362, 366, 371
Building of National Road.....	349
Irish deserters in Revolution	240

J.

Jackson, Andrew, Croghan anecdote of.....	395
Jefferson, Thomas, Gov. Henry advised by.....	72
Views of, on Ohio constitution.....	21

	PAGE
"Jerks" accompaniment of "Kentucky Revival".....	248
Jesuits at Kaskaskia	76
Johnson, Andrew, Ohio men in impeachment of.....	315
Johnson, Sir William, Appoints Indian Agent.....	380
Pontiac's speech to	436
Jones, Rev. David, Ross County Indians.....	168
Scioto earthworks described by.....	37
Judiciary (Ohio)	313
Impeachment cases in	22
Legislature conflicts with	22

K

Kaskaskia, Clark's Campaign of.....	74
Fall of	76
History of	76
Map of Clark's march to.....	90
Keifer, J Warren, President Joint Centennial Commission.....	193
Kenton, Simion, Capture and escape of.....	178
Family of	175
Indian experience of.....	170
Indians killed by	176
Joins Clark's army	73
McClung's sketch of.....	176
Mention of	31, 294
Runs gauntlet	323
"Kenton's Chillicothe," Brown	322
Kentucky, County of, organized.....	70
Settlement of	69
"Kentucky Revival"	242
Barking exercise in	249
Bibliography of	282
"Christian Church" originates in	254
Contagion of	246
Cumberland Presbyterians originate in.....	253
Dancing exercise in	249
Discord and disunion in.....	251
Doctrinal status of	251
"Girl Preacher" in	247
Good results from	279
Impossible repetition of.....	277
Influence on Unitarianism.....	274
Influence on Universalism	274
Laughing exercise in	249
Methodism in	250

"Kentucky Revival" — Concluded.	PAGE
"New Lights"	250, 254
New Sects originated from	253
Origin of	244
Personnel of	250
Physical phenomena accompanying.....	248
Presbyterians in	244, 247
Rankin's Account of	279
Rolling exercise in	250
Running exercise in	249
Shaker church in	263
Singing exercise in	249
Trances in	248
Kenyon College, Founding of	299
Kerr, Gen. Joseph, Sketch of.....	164
Kilbourne, Col. James —	
Old printing press presented to Society by.....	218
President "Sons of American Revolution".....	338
Knabenshue, S. S., "Old Fort Industry".....	126
Kossuth, Ohio panegyricized by	119
"Kossuth before Ohio legislature"	114

L

La Fayette, Opinion of Ohio.....	311
New Orleans visited by	373
Land Grants and Surveys, Map of, in Ohio.....	220
Land Office, Tiffin preserves documents in.....	16
Worthington introduces bill for.....	353
Lands, British Gov't. gives to Loyalist refugees.....	234
Gov't. gives to Loyalist refugees.....	234
Granted for schools.....	302
Refugee	219
Survey and sale of, in Northwest Ohio.....	364
Survey of, for Refugees.....	236
Worthington surveys	343
Language, Wyandot	31
La Salle, Explorations of, Parkman's idea of.....	112
Fort Miami built by.....	120, 122
Maumee explorations of.....	107
Mention of	75
Mississippi discovered by	109
Route to Ohio River	113
Scioto Mounds not mentioned by.....	320
"La Salle," Slocum, Chas E.....	107
Law, General, for Ohio cities.....	26

	PAGE
Leatherlips, Monument to	30
Trial and execution of.....	30
Legislature (Ohio) Centennial Resolutions passed by.....	191
Judiciary conflicts with.....	22
Kossuth before	114
Kossuth resolutions by	116
Power of	21
Second Territorial	346
Leonard, Dr. J. A. Lecture before <i>Society</i> on "American Indians"...	215
Letters, Croghan to Harrison.....	399, 400
Harrison to Croghan.....	399
Holmes to Croghan relieving him of command.....	400
Library, Worthington originates Ohio State.....	363
Life members of <i>Society</i> , list of.....	444
Lincoln, Abraham, on Ohio soldiers.....	314
Literature, Scotch-Irish in.....	305
Little Miami, <i>Chillicothe</i> on.....	168
Livingstone, Col. J., Canadian Loyalist.....	225
Croghan marries into family of.....	394
Livingstone, Robert R., "Refugee descendant".....	238
Lochry Expedition, mention of.....	288
Logan, Benj., attacks Shawnee towns.....	174
Logstown, Conference at.....	410
"Lost Ohio Senator".....	165
Loyalists. (See Tories and Refugees).	
British army, in	228
British gov't. makes provision for.....	232
South in	230
Lytle, Gen. Mention of.....	305

M

Mac Lean, J. P. "Ancient works at Marietta, Ohio".....	37
"Graded Way" discussed by.....	214
"The Kentucky Revival and its influence on the Miami Valley".....	242
Madison, Bishop James, opinions of earthworks.....	44
Magazines "American Pioneer" Marietta Conical Mound described in	48
Pyramids at Marietta described in.....	52
"Columbia" describes Marietta earthworks.....	41
"The Hesperian of the West".....	30
Malignant fever, visits Scioto Valley.....	373
Malta "Old River Bridge" at.....	95
Manchester (Ohio) founded	12
"Mandamus Council".....	227
Mandamus Counsellors	222

	PAGE
Manly, Robt. W., Portrait of.....	2
Presentation address by (Ohio Centennial).....	1
Maps. Basin of Great Lakes.....	110
Bowman's March to Cahokia.....	90
Clark's March to Kaskaskia and Vincennes.....	90
Detroit and vicinity in Pontiac's siege.....	423
Franquelin's, of 1684.....	112
Franquelin's, of 1682, of Ohio Valley.....	109
Joliet's, of Ohio Valley.....	111
"Land Grants and Surveys" in Ohio.....	220
La Salle's	107
Springfield Township, Richland Co.....	161
Marietta, Ancient Works at.....	37
Atwater surveys earthworks at.....	44
"Covered Way" at.....	55
Description of Conical Mound at.....	48
Destruction of earthworks at.....	38
Earthworks preserved at	37
Earthworks, summary of, at.....	64
First description of Mounds at.....	39
Great truncated pyramid at.....	51
Harris describes mounds at.....	42
Hildreth's description of earthworks at.....	46
Plan of earthworks at.....	40
Priest's description of earthworks at	57
Squier and Davis' description of earthworks at.....	53
View of <i>Via Sacra</i> at.....	56
Martzolff, C. L., Chairman of Com. for Ohio Day in Schools.....	185
Index for Society's publications made by.....	188
Massie, Nathaniel comes to Ohio.....	12
Recollections of	7
Tiffin's associate	18
Masonry. Worthington, a member.....	372
Mathews, Alfred, "Ohio and the Western Reserve" by.....	101
Maumee, Fort Miami on.....	121
Forts on	120
La Salle's Exploration along.....	107
McArthur, Duncan, Descendant of.....	4
Harrison's army, in	388
Recollections of	7
Scotch-Irish Ancestry of	305
McClelland, Geo. B. Ancestry of	309
McClintick, Wm. T., Centennial Celebration Address by.....	6
Portrait of	6

	PAGE
McClung, Sketch of Simon Kenton, by.....	176
McConnellsville, "Old River Bridge," at.....	95
McDonald, John. Description Scioto Valley, by.....	12
Sketches by	169, 174
McFarland, Prof. <i>Chillicothes</i> of.....	172
McGuffey, W. H., Mention of	299
McHenry, Jas., Sec. War. Ft. Industry not mentioned by.....	123
Methodism in "Kentucky Revival".....	250
Mexican War, Croghan in.....	396
Mexico, Races of.....	53
Miami, Fort	120
Miami (Little) River, Ft. Miami on.....	121
Miami Valley, "Christian Church" in.....	263
Cumberland Presbyterians in.....	254
Geographical extent of	242
"Kentucky Revival," influence on.....	242
Militia, Gov. Worthington's plans of.....	357, 364
Gov. Worthington Major of.....	343
Gov. Worthington secures arms for Ohio.....	367
Mills, Worthington erects on Paint Creek.....	343
Mills, W. C., Baum Village explored by.....	215
Curator's report to <i>Society</i> , '02.....	215
Fowke's book on.....	327
Mississippi, La Salle discovers.....	109
Mohawks. Wyoming Valley raided by.....	224
Monroe, James, on War of 1812	379
Visits Ohio	372
Montgomery, Gen. Richard, invades Canada.....	225
Montour, Catharine, Wyoming Massacre	102
Monument, Leatherlips	30
Moore, Clarence B., Archæological work of.....	317
Moorehead, Warren K.,	
"Are the Hopewell copper ornaments Prehistoric?".....	317
Fowke's book reviewed by.....	326
Moore, Rev. Wm. E., <i>Society</i> vice-president, mentioned.....	444
Moravians, Massacre of.....	295
Morgan, J. B. F., "The <i>Chillicothes</i> ".....	167
Mound Builders, (See Earthworks)	
Cahokia, at	78
Circleville, at	37
Civilization of	39
Fowke's opinion of	324
Intelligence of	325
Marietta, at	37
Misconceptions on	324

Mound Builders — Concluded.	PAGE
Ornaments of	57
Skulls of	54
"The Acolhuans"	104
Mounds. Conical	49
Earth required for	57
Gartner Mound investigated.....	216
Great Conical, Marietta	65
Hopewell	317
Marietta, Covered Way	55
Marietta, Summary of	64
Mound Cemetery, Marietta, View of.....	38
Priest's description of, at Marietta.....	57
Pyramid	52
Squier and Davis' description of, at Marietta.....	58
Stone	61
Temple	52
"The Acolhuans" on.....	104
Truncated Pyramid	51
Work required in building.....	327
Muskingum, Description of Valley of.....	62

N

Nash, Geo. K., Address "A Century of Statehood".....	25
Portrait of	25
Proclamation of, for Centennial.....	201
<i>Nation</i> , Fowke's book reviewed by.....	324
National Road, Worthington recommends.....	368
Navy, Popularity of, in War of 1812.....	379
Naylor, James Ball, "The old river bridge".....	95
Newark, Canal opened at.....	372
Earthworks at	104
New England, Politics of, in Revolution.....	223
"New Lights," McNemar's history of.....	250
Newspapers —	
<i>American Anthropologist</i>	317
<i>Chillicothe News-Advertiser</i>	167, 208
<i>Nation</i> , <i>The</i>	324
<i>Pennsylvania Gazette</i> , Marietta earthworks described in.....	41
<i>Scioto Daily Gazette</i>	164, 208
Scotch-Irish influence on.....	306
<i>Toledo Blade</i>	126
Universalist Periodicals	275
<i>Western Christian Advocate</i>	330
New York, Loyalists in.....	228

	PAGE
Northwest, Cahokia campaign in Clark's conquest of.....	77
Clark's conquest of.....	67
Result of Clark's conquest, on.....	94
Vincennes falls in conquest of.....	79
Northwest Territory, Capital of, removed.....	2
Forts Miami, in.....	120
Plan of division of.....	343, 345

O

"Old Betsey," View of.....	394
"Old Fort Industry," Knabenshue, S. S.,.....	126
"Ohio and the Western Reserve," Review of.....	101
Ohio, Admission of.....	103, 310
Area of	310
Bill of Rights, for.....	311
Centennial Ode to.....	182
Centennial of admission of.....	310
Centennial Tribute to.....	181
Colleges in	312
Commercial progress of.....	312
Condition of, in 1800.....	242
Conspicuous citizens from	313
Constitutional basis for freedom of press in.....	311
Contest for admission of	18
Cosmopolitan people of.....	104
Civil War record of.....	313, 314, 315
Enabling Act for admission of.....	19
Factors of greatness.....	315
First capital of.....	311
First church in.....	243
Geography of	310
"Greatness" of	310
Growth of cities in.....	26
Industrial development in.....	27
Judiciary of	313
Kossuth on	119
LaFayette's opinion of.....	311
Men and women of.....	27
National affairs, in.....	313
Native Pennsylvanians in.....	304
Noted sons of.....	4
Part taken in Johnson impeachment.....	315
"Politics" in making it a state.....	347
Presbyterian influence on.....	296

	PAGE
Ohio — Concluded.	
Scotch-Irish influence on.....	296
Secession of, impossible.....	28
Slavery in	28
State of society in 1800.....	243
War record of	313
Ohio Centennial, Account of	205
Appropriations by <i>Society</i> for.....	200
Commission appointed for.....	192
Commission thanks Secretary Randall.....	209
Date of	193
Expenditures for	208
Fac simile of invitations for.....	194-195
Governor's proclamation for.....	201
Invitations sent out for.....	202
Last meeting of Commission of.....	208
Legislative resolution for.....	191
Official Program for.....	203
Proceedings of Joint Commission of.....	192
Secretary's work in.....	191
Speakers selected for.....	199
Souvenir Volume of.....	189
"Ohio Centennial Syllabus".....	186
Ohio Company, Marietta earthworks preserved by.....	37
"Ohio Day in the Public Schools," Editorial, Randall.....	185
Ohio Flag, View of	29
Ohio Governors, Homes of.....	330
Ohio School Day, "Centennial Syllabus" prepared for.....	193
Observance of	190
Provisions made for, by <i>Society</i>	196
Ohio Sons of American Revolution	
Annual meeting of 1903.....	337
Editorial on, Randall.....	337
Graves of Revolutionary soldiers marked by.....	337
Officers of, 1903.....	337
Ohio State University, Donates room and cases to <i>Society</i>	217
<i>Society</i> removes to.....	190
Ohio River, La Salle's Route to.....	113
Ohio University, Founding of	299
Ohio Valley, Franquelin's Map of, 1682.....	109
Parkman's idea of La Salle's explorations in.....	112
Rival claims to	411
Ordinance of 1787. Doctrines in.....	28
Ouiatenon, Capture of Fort, at.....	429

P

	PAGE
Paris, Treaty of, Adjustment American claims by.....	420
Parkersburgh, Earthworks at.....	62
Parkman, La Salle's explorations discussed by.....	112
Parsons, Gen. Samuel H., Death of.....	42
Marietta earthworks described by.....	39
Patriotism of Ohioans.....	28
Penitentiary, Ohio. Building of.....	361
Pennsylvania, Influence of, on Ohio.....	296
Noted Scotch-Irish from	292
Public men given to Ohio by.....	303
Result of Pontiac's Conspiracy in.....	431
Scotch-Irish come from, to Ohio.....	293
Perry's Victory, Cannon balls for.....	307
Piatt, John J. Mention of.....	30
Pickering, Timothy, Ft. Industry not mentioned by.....	123
Pike County, "Graded Way," in.....	214
Pioneers, Ohio	25
Cosmopolitan character of.....	316
Poems, "Centennial tribute to Ohio," Hopley.....	181
"The Buckeye," Brotherton.....	180
"The Centennial Ode," Harding.....	182
"The Old River Bridge," Naylor.....	95
Point Pleasant, Scotch-Irish in battle of.....	290
Pontiac, Birth of.....	415
Braddock's defeat, in.....	412
Bouquet's expedition against.....	435
Capt. Campbell murdered by.....	422
Cause of Conspiracy of.....	418
Conference of, with Rogers.....	415
Dalzell's forces attacked by.....	426
Death and burial of	437
Divulging of plot of.....	421
End of Conspiracy of.....	434
French expected to aid.....	424
Forces of	421, 425
Ft. Le Boeuf captured in Conspiracy of.....	430
Ft. Ligonier attacked in Conspiracy of.....	430
Ft. Miami captured in Conspiracy of.....	429
Ft. Niagara attacked in Conspiracy of.....	431
Ft. Pitt attacked in Conspiracy of.....	431
Ft. Presque' Isle captured in Conspiracy of.....	429
Gage's plan in Conspiracy of.....	434
General success of Conspiracy of.....	427, 430

Pontiac — Concluded.	PAGE
Headquarters of	420
Indians withdraw from Conspiracy of.....	425
Last days of	437
Meets Rogers at Cuyahoga River.....	415
Method of arousing Indians.....	420
Persistency of	425
Plan of Conspiracy of	419
Plan of, for capture of Detroit.....	420
Portrait of	410, 419
Remorse of	435
Result of Conspiracy of	431
Siege of Detroit raised by.....	427
Speech of, to Sir William Johnson.....	436
War speech of	420
"Pontiac's Conspiracy," Randall.....	410
Poor Houses, Erection of	366, 369
Poor Laws	359
Pottawattamies withdraw from Pontiac's Conspiracy.....	425
Pottery found in earthworks.....	48
Prehistoric Men, Scioto Valley, in	13
Prehistoric Works (See Mound Builders) —	
Baum Village explorations.....	216
Circleville, at	37
Covered Way, Marietta	55
Hopewell Group	317
Marietta, at	37
Marietta, Summary of.....	64
Priest's description of, at Marietta.....	57
Squier and Davis' description of Marietta.....	58
"The Acolhuans" on	104
Prentice, George D., Mention of.....	30
Priest, Josiah, Marietta mounds described by.....	57
Presbyterians, Doctrinal discussion of.....	254
First in Ohio.....	243, 244
Influence of, on Ohio.....	296
Origin of the "Cumberland".....	253
Press, Freedom of, in Ohio.....	311
Proctor, Gen., Ft. Meigs at.....	334, 386
Ft. Stephenson attacked by.....	389
Hatred toward	393
Pugh, Achilles, Abolition paper of.....	305
Puritans, Influence of, on Ohio.....	302, 305

Q		PAGE
Quebec, Fall of		413
Montgomery's assault on		226
Result of Battle of		68
R		
Races, Prehistoric		51
Raisin, Battle of		386
Randall, E. O., Centennial Commission thanks		209
"Clark's Conquest of the Northwest"		67
Editorials; "Americanists at Ft. Ancient"		97
"Dayton Daughters of American Revolution"		329
"Farrar's Ground Hog Speech"		331
"Homes of Ohio Governors"		330
"Hon. Charles P. Griffin"		99
"Notes,"	25, 67, 114, 116, 128, 164, 167, 324, 326,	375
"Ohio and the Western Reserve"		101
"Ohio Day in the Public Schools"		185
"Ohio Sons of American Revolution"		337
"The Acolhuans"		104
"The Greatest Living Man"		105
"The Heroes of Fort Meigs"		333
"Pontiac's Conspiracy"		410
Secretary of Joint Commission		193
Work of, for Centennial		191
Randolph, John, Mention of		288
Ray, Joseph, Mention of		299
Reed, T. Buchanan, Mention of		305
Refugee Lands. Claims for, filed		239
Confiscated		226
Survey and location of		237
Refugees. (See Tories and Loyalists)		
Congress passed Resolutions for		334
Exodus of	225,	226
Government makes provision for		233
Number of		229
"Refugees to and from Canada and the Refugee Tract," Taylor		219
"Refugee Tract" Location of		219
Religion, (See churches).		
Constitutional basis for		311
Ohio in 1800		243
Present status of, in Miami Valley		277
Scotch-Irish disposition toward		297
Revolution. Bounties offered to English deserters, in		240
"Daughters of"		329
Influence of Clark's conquest on		94

	PAGE
Revolutionary War. Croghan's ancestry in.....	382
Deserters in	240
New England politics in.....	223
Refugees in	219
Religious feeling	224
Soldiers of, buried in Ohio.....	337
Tories in	220
Whigs in	221
Whig-Tory conflict in.....	223
Richland County, Altitude of.....	163
Ohio water-shed in.....	160
Rivers, Navigation of.....	368
Worthington's plan for better navigation, of.....	360
Road Building, Funds for.....	359
Roads, Worthington's recommendation for in Ohio.....	366
Rogers, Maj. Robt., Pontiac's conference with.....	415
Reaches Cuyahoga River.....	414
Ross County, Establishment of.....	343
Ryan, Daniel J., Portrait of.....	11
"The First Constitution".....	11

S

Sandusky River, Source of.....	161
Sanky, Rev., Influence of.....	291
Sargent, Col. Winthrop, Marietta earthworks discussed by.....	42
Schools, Ohio	28
Ohio Day in	185
Scotch-Irish interest in.....	299
Worthington on	360, 362, 364, 366, 368, 369, 371
Scioto, Age of Mounds on.....	321
Chillicothe on	173.
Indians of	170
Leatherlips executed on.....	34
Mounds of	320
Scioto Valley, Agricultural Society of.....	370
McDonald's description of	12
Prehistoric man in.....	13
Scotch-Irish settle in	293
Scott, Effie. Tablet at Centennial unveiled by.....	3
Scotch deserters in the Revolution.....	240
Scotch-Irish, Abolition sentiment among.....	297
Bibliography of	309
Came to Ohio.....	293
Commercial activity among.....	307

	PAGE
Scotch-Irish — Concluded.	
Education among	298
Indian fighters among.....	294
Influence of, on Ohio.....	296
Literature, in	305
Noted ones in Ohio.....	292, 301
Noted military men of.....	309
Noted ministers among.....	297
Ohio governors from.....	305
Point Pleasant	290
Public men among	303
Scientists among	302
Settle Ohio previous to Marietta	293
<i>Versus</i> Puritans	296
Scouts, Wayne's	130
Sells, Benj. Leatherlips' execution seen by.....	33
Senators, First from Ohio.....	311
Serpent Mound, <i>Society's</i> care for.....	190
Shakers, Bibliography of	282, 286
Converts to	265, 269
Elements of success of.....	271
Influence of	272
"Kentucky Revival," in.....	263
Make inroads on "Christians".....	261
Persecution of	268
Present Condition cf.....	273
Send Missionaries to Ohio.....	263
Standing of leading converts.....	267
Shawnees, Characteristics of.....	320
Method of burial of.....	320
Origin of	32
Signature of, at Greenville Treaty.....	146
"Sheridan's Ride" Author of.....	306
"Sieur De La Salle," Slocum, Chas. E.....	107
Sigourney, Mrs. Mention of	30
Skraelings	104
Slaves, Bequeathing of	383
Tiffin frees	15
Worthington frees	341
Slavery, Fear of provisions for, being changed.....	371
Forbidden in Ohio	311
Ohio, in	28
Pamphlet in defense of.....	292
Scotch-Irish on	297
Slocum, Dr. Chas. E., "Forts Miami and Fort Industry".....	120

Slocum, Dr. Chas. E. — Concluded.	PAGE
Historical research of	126
"Sieur De La Salle" by.....	107
<i>Society</i> , "Americanists" entertained by.....	97
Appropriation to Chillicothe for Ohio Centennial.....	200
Archæological exhibit of	217
Curators report to, for 1902,.....	215
Eighteenth annual meeting of.....	187
Executive Committee's work for 1902-03.....	187
Fort Ancient cared for by.....	190
Library of	218
Lecture, "American Indians" before.....	215
Museum of, removed	217
New members of	211
New trustees of, appointed by the Governor.....	211
New trustees of, by.....	213
Officers for 1903.....	215
Ohio School Day provided for, by.....	185
Ohio Day under auspices of.....	191, 196
Permanent building for	189
Proceedings of, with Centennial Commission.....	192
Publications of 1902	188
Removes to Ohio State University grounds.....	190
Secretary's work in	191
Serpent Mound cared for, by.....	190
St. Louis Exposition, part in, by.....	210
Treasurer's Report of, for 1902-03.....	212
Trustees' annual meeting, 1903	214
Trustees of	213
Work of, at Fort Ancient.....	437
<i>Soldiers</i> . Appeal to for purchase of Fort Meigs.....	333
Graves of Revolutionary, marked in Ohio.....	338
Ohio	313, 314
Revolutionary, buried in Ohio.....	337
<i>Sons of Revolution</i> , Tablet at Chillicothe presented by.....	2
<i>Spiegel Grove</i> , Ft. Stephenson anniversary at.....	375
View of	378
<i>Squier and Davis</i> , "Ancient monuments of the Miss. Valley," by..	58
Fowke on	328
Marietta earthworks described by.....	58
Prehistoric altars described by.....	318
<i>St. Clair</i> , Arthur. Burial place of.....	298
Charges preferred against	347
Court appointed by	2
Indian expedition of	174

St. Clair, Arthur — Concluded.	PAGE
Opposition to, as Governor.....	345
Public Career of.....	16
Quarrel of, with legislature.....	18
Resolutions for monument to.....	206
Sad end of	330
Worthington protects	346
St. Joseph, Indians attack fort at.....	427
St. Louis Exposition, Ohio Commission for.....	210
Society takes part in	210
Statehouse, Ohio's first.....	1
Old, Recollections of.....	8
Old, Sale of.....	10
Stebbins, Daniel, Marietta earthworks surveyed by.....	39
Stone, Elder Barton, Portrait of.....	278
Sketch of	277
Stone Mounds	61
Surveys, Northwest Ohio	364

T

Tablet, Dedication of, at Chillicothe.....	2
Unveiling of	3
Taverns, Regulation of.....	369
Taylor, Edward L., "Refugees to and from Canada".....	219
Teachers, Prominent Scotch-Irish.....	299
Tecumseh, Ft. Meigs, at	334
Indians stirred by	385
Mention of	415
Temperance, Worthington, on.....	367, 369
Terraces, Muskingum, of.....	62
"The Centennial Ode," Harding.....	182
"The Divide," Baughman, A. J.....	160
"The First Constitution," Ryan.....	11
"The Gateways to Ft. Ancient," Brown.....	438
"The Heroes of Fort Meigs," Editorial, Randall.....	333
"The Kentucky Revival and its influence on Miami Valley," Mac- Lean	242
"The Old River Bridge," Naylor.....	95
"The towns called <i>Chillicothe</i> " Morgan.....	167
"The Treaty of Greenville," Wilson.....	128
Thomas, Dr. Cyrus, Shawnees discussed by.....	321
"Thomas Worthington," Cole.....	339
Thurman, Allen G. Mention of.....	305
Tiffin, Edward, Associates of.....	18
Comes to Ohio.....	14, 342

	PAGE
Tiffin, Edward — Concluded.	
Contests for Ohio statehood.....	18
Descendant of	4
Public career of.....	15
Recollections of	6
Sketch of	14
Tippecanoe, Croghan in Battle of.....	385
Toledo, Earthworks in.....	125
Ft. Industry in.....	124
Tories, (See Loyalists and Refugees)	
Cornwallis sends shipload to New York.....	232
Hanging of	230
Number of	229
Proclamation of British, aided by.....	239
Revolution, in	220
Wyoming Massacre, in.....	102
Transylvania, Settlement of.....	99
Treaties, Fort Harmar.....	130
Greenville	128
Paris	420
Trees, Age of.....	327
Trent, Captain, sent to forks of Ohio.....	411
Trimble, Allen, Mention of.....	331
Trimble, Col. Wm. A. U. S. Senator from Ohio.....	369
Tuttle, Mary McArthur, on St. Clair.....	330

U

Universalism,	
Creed of	275
Periodicals of	275
Upper Sandusky,	
Croghan at	387

V

Vallandigham, C. L. Mention of.....	302
Veto Power, Ohio's governor denied.....	20
<i>Via Sacra</i> , View of.....	56
Vincennes, Fall of	79
Hamilton retakes	83
Citizens of, renew allegiance to England.....	84
Clark re-captures	85
Ft. Sackville at	88
Map of Clark's March to	90
Virginians.	
Immigrate to Ohio.....	14
Route to Ohio.....	342

	PAGE
Virginia Military Lands.	
Boundary of	349
Settlement of	341
"Virginia Party."	
Formation of	345
Wabash, La Salle's Explorations along.....	107
Wade, Ben, Scotch-Irish Ancestry of.....	307
War, Ohio in	313
Ohio privates in.....	314
War of 1812 —	
Benefits of	379
Conduct of	377
Inactivity of first year.....	380
Monroe on results from.....	379
Opposition to	377
Reason for	377
Reverses of	380
Woodrow Wilson on	380
Worthington opposes	353, 35
Ward, J. Q. A., Scotch Irish Ancestry of.....	307
Washington, (D. C.) British burn.....	16
Washington, George —	
Braddock's Defeat, in.....	412
Greenville Treaty signed by.....	159
Logstown Conference, at.....	410
Refuses to treat with forces of Arnold at Cornwallis' Surrender..	232
Water-shed, Richland county, in.....	160
Watson, D. K. "Greatness of Ohio".....	310
Wayne, Anthony. Ft. Miami, at.....	121
Greenville Treaty, by.....	129
Mention of	293
Webster, Daniel, Mention of.....	316
Westfall, <i>Chillicothe</i> at.....	167, 172
Westfall, Nicholas Ferdinand, British Deserter.....	241
"Western Antiquities," Marietta Earthworks described by.....	241
Western Reserve, Does little in the making of Ohio.....	23
Mathew's book on	101
Wetzel, Lewis, Mention of.....	31
Whigs. British imprison.....	223
Revolutionary War, in	222
Whittlesley, Col. Charles, Marietta earthworks surveyed by....	58, 59, 63
"William and Mary," Croghan attends.....	384
Williams, Charles Richard, "George Croghan," by.....	375
Williamson, Gen., Moravian episode of.....	295
Wilson, Frazer E., "The Treaty of Greenville".....	128

	PAGE
Wilson, Woodrow, War of 1812, on.....	380
Winchester Gen., Ft. Defiance, at.....	386
Witch-craft, Leatherlips executed on account of.....	34
"Wives and Daughters of the Boys in Blue" —	
Appeal to purchase Ft. Meigs.....	333
Association of	333
Woolen Mills, First in Ohio.....	306
Worthington, Eleanor, Portrait of.....	352
Worthington, Thomas, Accompanies La Fayette at New Orleans..	373
Agricultural interests of.....	370
Aids in building Canals.....	372
Ancestry of	339
Arranges for making Ohio a state.....	347
Bank Taxing, on.....	360
Came to Chillicothe	341, 342
Carries charges against St. Clair to President.....	347
Cole's Sketch of.....	339
Commercial Life of	373
Constitutional Convention, in.....	347
Currency position of	366, 370
Declines re-election to governorship.....	365
Defeated for United States Senator.....	369, 370
Early life of	340
Elected Governor of Ohio.....	356
First U. S. Senator from Ohio.....	348
Financial Disaster of	372
Friendship for Rufus King	356
"International Improvements" on.....	366, 371
John Quincy Adams, on	351
Kerr succeeds as Senator.....	165
Last sickness and death of.....	373
Major of Militia	343
Marriage of	341
Masonic life of	372
Member of "Virginia Party".....	346
Message of, to 14th Legislature.....	359
Militia plans of	357, 364
Moves to Adena	348
Ohio Legislature, in	371
Opposes War of 1812.....	353, 354
Poor Houses recommended by	366, 369
Portrait, of	345
Private life of	351
Public Schools, on.....	360, 362, 371

Worthington, Thomas — Concluded.	PAGE
Quits politics	370
Recollections of	7
Re-elected Governor of Ohio.....	361
Religious life of.....	374
Roads recommended by	368
Secures arms for Ohio Militia.....	367
Slaves freed by	341
St. Clair protected by	346
State Library originated by.....	363
Summary of public services of	374
Surveys lands	343
Temperance recommendations by	367, 369
Territorial Legislature, in	343
U. S. Senate, in.....	348, 353, 355
Visits Ft. Meigs	354
Wright, Gen. George B., Sketch of.....	441
"Wyandot Chief, Leatherlips," Curry.....	30
Wyandots, capture Ft. Sandusky.....	427
Language of	32
Origin of	31
Pontiac's Confederacy, in	424
Signatures of, at Greenville Treaty.....	145
Withdraw from Pontiac's Confederacy.....	425
Wyoming Valley, Massacre of.....	102, 225
Catherine Montour at.....	102
Y.	
Yaple, W. D., Tablet accepted by, at Centennial.....	3
Z.	
Zane, Jonathan, Scout to Wayne	130
Zane's Trace, mention of.....	368

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